

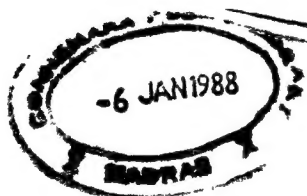
**ALL INDIA  
ANNA DRAVIDA  
MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM**

Political Dynamics in Tamil Nadu



**R. THANDAVAN**

ALL INDIA  
ANNA DRAVIDA MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM:  
POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN TAMIL NADU

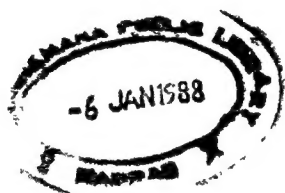




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ANNA DRAVIDA MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM**

**Political Dynamics in Tamil Nadu**

**Dr R. THANDAVAN**



**TAMIL NADU ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
MADRAS**



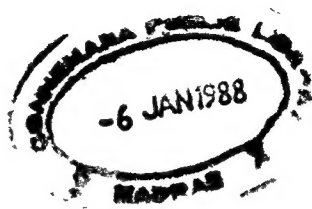
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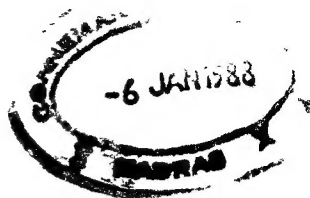
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Dedicated To  
My Beloved Leader  
*Puratchi Thalaivar*  
**Dr MGR**





## FOREWORD

Since the 1950's the major theoretical trends in the studies of democracies have tended to cluster into four general areas: Systems theories, Culture theories, Development theories and Class theories. Each of these areas have contributed to the understanding of the concept of democracy in their unique ways, and yet the impact of these theories in the Third World remains unassessed. David Easton, in *The Political System* and other works set forth the concept of the political system together with its inputs and outputs, demands and supports, and feedback. Gabriel Almond, influenced by the functionalist anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown as well as by the sociologists, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons, worked out the relationship between structure, function, system, culture and development. Karl Deutsch drew heavily upon the cybernetic theory of Norbert Weiner in postulating a systemic model of politics. On the other hand, the cultural thrust in the studies on democracies emanated from traditional work on culture in anthropology, socialization and small group studies in sociology, and personality studies in psychology. Political culture studies represented a sort of recasting of the older notions of national character. The literature on development falls into the five categories of stage theories, nation-building, modernization, change and decline and under-development. During the 1950's Floyd Hunter and C. Wright Mills had concerned themselves with questions of power and elites as a response to Marxian notions of class and politics.

Perhaps a common denominator that underlies all these studies is the inevitability of the instrument of political parties. All parties of the West and the East, or of the North and the South, engage themselves in ideological, structural-functional, or participatory roles depending on the situational matrix. In the Indian context, if parties could be understood in the categories of national and regional, then regional parties are expected to play a more active role because of their proximity to the social situation. How do they go about solving the problems of the groups they represent, and the society, against the national backdrop of the constitutional norms of federalism? This question is ponderable.

Seen in this context, "*All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam: Political Dynamics in Tamil Nadu*" is a welcome addition to the meagre literature that exists on the socio-political themes of Tamil Nadu. The book traces the reasons for the growth of regional parties in India and stresses how each regional party of India has a unique role to perform. Agreeing that the diversity of India is a major contributory factor for the complex political dimensions of India, the book goes on to narrate the specific political situation of Tamil Nadu in the late sixties, the emergence of AIADMK and its political dynamics. The book concludes with an analysis of the role and achievements of the AIADMK.

Dr. R. Thandavan, known to me for more than a decade and a half, raises several issues in his book. For the questions like the relationship between Tamil Society and its political institutions, historical roots of social cleavages in the Tamil Society, the interrelations between the left, right and centrist parties, the conflict and co-operation between national parties and regional parties on the one hand and between the regional or national parties *per se*, the need or otherwise for co-operative and creative federalism, the circumstances for the birth of democratic parties and for

their organization, leadership and electoral participation, and ideological construction and/or renewal, I believe that this book has answers in an exhaustive manner. More than all these clarifications, the work posits constructively the definition for Annaism. For studies of contemporary socio-political history of Tamil Nadu this book is reliable and inevitable. Reflecting upon the book, both as an objective student of Tamil Nadu politics and as a subjective element in the unfolding historical processes in Tamil Nadu, I can say with certainty that the book is scholarly enough.

S. RAMACHANDRAN

September 15, 1987

*Minister for Food*  
Government of Tamil Nadu

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

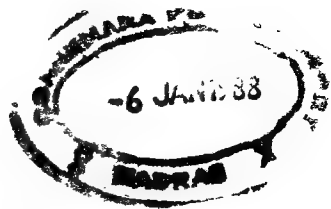
The Tamil Nadu Academy of Political Science is a professional association of social and political scientists interested in the promotion of study and research in all the Social Sciences. Among the many objectives of the Academy, encouragement of the publication of scientific works by its members is a major activity.

The Academy is happy to undertake the publication of Dr. R. Thandavan's research study, 'All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam : Political Dynamics in Tamil Nadu', and hopes it will be a welcome addition to the literature on the Government and Politics of Tamil Nadu.

Madras

15, September 1987

Dr. C. A. PERUMAL  
*President TAPS*



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

No extent of portrayal in word or deed would suffice to adequately express my gratitude to Professor C. A. Perumal, Head of the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras. Those of us who have had the opportunity of working with him know well the passionate zeal with which he supervises a thesis. He is a hard task master and therefore it is not surprising that he demands a conscientious, prompt and intelligent work from his scholars. His guidance and counselling always bear his inimitable characteristics of intellectual freedom, mental discipline and searching spirit.

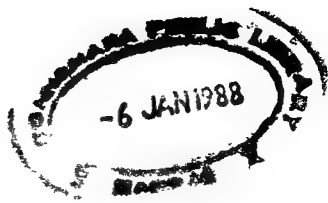
Under the patriarchal care of Dr. C. A. Perumal, I have learnt the new and complex dimensions of Political Science, Political Philosophy and Public Management. He lectured to me on the methodological problems of rigorous quantitative and qualitative evaluation of social phenomena. That he did transform me from an unknowing child to one who is interested to know the greatness of the Tamils, points only the unceasing powerful mind and deft hands of his. Oftentimes I am wonder struck not only by the finesse of his ideas but as much by the methodological clarifications that ensue. Like a diver who goes into the unfathomable depths of the ocean to pick up rare and precious gems, he goes deep into the complexities of the argument and returns with a solution which can never be imagined by others. It is a rare privilege and illuminating experience for me to learn under such a great teacher. Out of his intellectual canvas of Government and Politics of Tamil Nadu, he encouraged me to pursue research



on AIADMK. It is very difficult to acknowledge what I owe to him in the preparation and completion of this work.

The introduction of the Faculty Improvement Programme had been a boon to me and to several of my colleagues in the affiliated colleges. I am indebted to the University Grants Commission for selecting me for the Teacher fellowship under FIP. I also thank the University of Madras for permitting me to publish the revised version of my doctoral thesis entitled "All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam: A study."

R. THANDAVAN



## ABBREVIATIONS

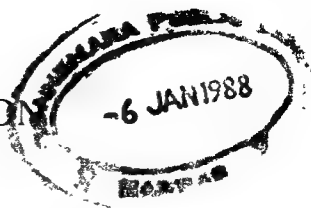
AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AIFB	All India Forward Bloc
AIML	All India Muslim League
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BJS	Bharatiya Jan Sangh
CNA	Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai
Cong(I)	Indian National Congress (Indira Gandhi)
Cong(J)	Indian National Congress (Jagajivan Ram)
Cong(N)	Indian National Congress (New)
Cong(R)	Indian National Congress (Ruling)
Cong(O)	Indian National Congress (Old)
Cong(U)	Indian National Congress (Urs)
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI(ML)	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
CR	Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
CRC	Congress Reforms Committee
CSP	Congress Socialist Party
DK	Dravidar Kazhagam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
EVR	Erode Venkatappa Ramasamy
FB(M)	Forward Bloc (Marxist)
GKNC	Gandhi Kamaraj National Congress
HM	Hindu Munnani
IUML	Indian Union Muslim League

Janata	Janata Party
LD	Lok Dal
MGR	Marudhur Gopalan Ramachandran
MK	Muthuvel Karunanidhi
NK	Namadhu Kazhagam
NTI	Nam Thamizhar Iyakkam (We Tamil movement)
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWP	Peasants and Workers Party
RPI(K)	Republican Party of India (Khobaragade)
SP(L)	Socialist Party (Lohia)
SRM	Self-Respect Movement
SSP	Samyukta Socialist Party
TAK	Tamil Arasu Kazhagam (Tamil State Federation)
TNFB	Tamil Nadu Forward Bloc
TNKC	Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress
TNML	Tamil Nadu Muslim League

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## INTRODUCTION



There has been extensive proliferation of political parties in India since Independence in 1947. In the First General Elections in 1952, the total number of parties which contested was 178, excluding 14 recognised all-India parties. Between 1952 and 1984, the number of parties increased to 250 or more. There is enormous variation in their origin, organization, size and strength, beliefs and behaviour. This variation is due to several factors.

The rise of the Indian National Congress in 1885, from a body of His Majesty's loyal petitioners to a great party of the masses and its victories in the General Elections of 1952 and thereafter have convinced ambitious men in the post-Independence period that the establishment of parties would be a sure means to political power and personal importance. Secondly, the factional fights within larger parties have led to the growth of splinter parties. Thirdly, a large number of Independents who otherwise would have contested elections individually, found it beneficial to use the name of a party presenting a programme. Fourthly, adult franchise enabled many numerically strong communities, who were not previously a strong force to reckon with, to discover their power and to establish parties to fight for their share of political influence. Fifthly, in spite of the various devices to solve federal problems, there have been numerous dissatisfied social divisions who think of founding political parties to further their interests. Sixthly, the reaction against the inverse implementation of the federal formula in India, and the opposition to the over-centralization of power at the Union level, tends to furnish a fertile soil for the mushroom-

ming of parties. These are but a few reasons for the origin of political parties in India.

It has become difficult to study all these parties individually and therefore a classification is needed. The Election Commission has come out with a suggestion to distinguish between All India (or national) and State (or regional) parties. The Election Commission has prescribed that to be recognized as an All India party, a party should get at least three per cent of the valid votes polled in the elections to the Lok Sabha. For a State Party, an equal percentage must be obtained in the elections to the State Assembly. The prescribed minimum was raised to 4 percent in 1961. In 1968, the Election Commission changed the rules again. A party acquires national status if it has five years of continuous participation in public life and obtains 5% of the seats in the Lok Sabha. A State Party must have five years of continuous participation in public life and should get one-thirtieth of the seats in the State Assembly. The latest rule of the Election Commission is that a party will be recognised as a national party if it obtains four percent of the total votes polled in four of the 25 states of India. Otherwise it will be considered as a regional party. This endeavour of the Commission is for its administrative convenience, and not to evolve a formula for scientific classification. A major defect of this classification is that revolutionary parties, which refuse to go into electoral politics, may not find a place in this scheme. Yet this scheme proposed by the Election Commission has been followed everywhere in India as a practical necessity.

National and regional parties have different roles to play amidst the social diversities, economic variations and political differences in India. Commonly, it is held that national parties are engaged in the activities of reducing diversities in India, in the politics of intergration and modernization, and that all regional parties are interested only in the welfare of the local groups, interests, castes or classes. Therefore much fear is entertained about the bid of the regional

parties to court with the politics of tradition, culture, sub-nationalism and violence.

What, then, is the nature of regional political parties? Do they function merely as political instruments for the social groups and interests? Do regional parties think in terms of thorough social change and equality? Should regional parties always resort to violence to achieve their aims? Do regional parties always compete with the Centre and not work for cooperation in Union-State relations? Do they necessarily contribute to the might of inimical forces which want the nation to disintegrate? Answers to these basic questions are manifestly important to grasp the origins, nature, characteristics and role of regional political parties in India.

A political party is expected to articulate the needs and aspirations of its constituents, represent them in the legislature, seek appropriate solutions to problems and help implement political decisions. Specifically a regional political party has the following functions to discharge (1) As a mobilising movement, it has to enlighten the local society about social conflicts, social inequalities and the ways which they can be eliminated. (2) As an organisational expression, a regional party must preserve the unity and solidarity of the group, and it must promote its cultural traditions. (3) As an educational instrument, the regional party must suggest the merits of reforms and foster orderly and peaceful social change. (4) When it obtains regional power in a federal context, it must develop harmonious relations with the national parties that may obtain federal power. It must strive to set right regional economic imbalances. It must also see that the federal government does not unnecessarily interfere with the smooth working of the federal process. Next, it must check the undue centripetal tendencies which may militate against the interests of the state. (5) Finally it must decisively conclude whether the cooperative or conflictual courses of conduct, or a successful combination of them, would be beneficial to the interests of the state.

Federalism in India has been handed down by the British as an institutional mechanism and as an administrative convenience. However this political process percolated through the social diversities of India, and created an awareness among the people of the need to preserve their identities. The result is that every section of the Indian society wants to have a political party of its own to preserve and promote its interests. Consequently, regional parties have become unavoidable if not inevitable. Usually regional parties are concerned with the first three roles specified above, and when they obtain regional power they have to perform the fourth and fifth roles also. Depending on the social situation, the regional parties are engaged in the politics of culture, inequality or seperatism. On several occasions the regional parties find themselves performing all these activities.

As political regionalism is a special characteristic of Tamil Nadu, perhaps from the first decade of the twentieth century itself, it has invited the attention of Western scholars early in the sixties. Hardgrave Jr. treated this regional tradition in Tamil Nadu as an inevitable political process in a society which wants to throw off primordial sentiments and wants to strive for modernization.<sup>1</sup> R. Bhaskaran had made the very first attempt to study the social determinants of politics in Tamil Nadu. Keen thought and articles about the role of caste, language and religious sentiments in the political process of Tamil Nadu had been furnished by him.<sup>2</sup>

Rudolph followed suit and he elucidated the modernizing role of caste in Indian Politics taking Tamil Nadu as a case study.<sup>3</sup> Irschick took up the Brahmin, non-Brahmin issue as a case study for politics and social conflict in South India.<sup>4</sup> Saraswathi has sketched the history of the non-Brahmin Politics.<sup>5</sup> Washbrook has examined the consequences of the introduction of the local government in the Madras Presidency.<sup>6</sup> Baker has carefully chronicled the achievements of the Justice Party between 1920 and 1937.



Palani has brought out in an exhaustive manner, the socio-political ideas of E. V. Ramaswamy.<sup>8</sup> Anita Diehl has appreciated the leadership qualities of E. V. R. and Devanandam has highlighted the achievements of D. K.<sup>9</sup> Nambi Arooran has highlighted the issue of Tamil renaissance under the protection of the Justice party and its off-shoots.<sup>10</sup> Theodore Baskaran and Arantai Narayanan have drawn attention to the connections between the organisational process and the communication process.<sup>11</sup> The victory of the DMK and its achievements has become the focal points in the works of Spratt and K. S. Ramanujam.<sup>12</sup> S. Swaminathan evaluated the leadership of Karunanidhi.<sup>13</sup> Articles on the language problem, and the D. K. and D. M. K. 's role in it, have been written by Hardgrave Jr., Forrester and Barnett.<sup>14</sup> Barnett has also brought out the relationship between subnational sentiments and political culture, besides an estimation of the electoral process in Tamil Nadu.<sup>15</sup> Walch has treated the functioning of the near-bi-party system of Tamil Nadu after 1952.<sup>16</sup> Yet, for reasons unknown, the AIADMK has not received the attention and scholarly treatment it deserves from Western and Indian scholars.

The above mentioned works of Western scholars suffer from one serious disadvantage. They possess an inadequate knowledge of Tamil and they have failed oftentimes in translation niceties and interpretations. Again, they have quite often run into the danger of recognizing too much amidst the similarities that are to be found in South Indian and Western Societies. Sometimes they have perversely read the present into the past or have tried to equate ideas that are only superficially alike. It is a pity that Indian scholars too, who are mostly trained in Western ideas, force an equation of South Indian and Western theoretical concepts. Often a certain similarity does exist, but the Western concept is allowed to shape the South Indian situation. Similarly, recent scholars have apparently been motivated by the desire to find in South Indian Political history either a democratic tradition that could be exploited for purposes

of nation-building, or a regionalistic tradition which could ultimately lead to chauvinistic feelings and separatist designs.

Besides, research in several topics in South Indian studies become delicate and sensitive. The politics of Madras State since 1916 has been considered a problematic area for an Indian social scientist to attempt classification. Owing to the essentially communal nature of the problem, cultural embarrassments have inhibited intellectual curiosity and therefore there has hardly been any adequate research in this area. Scholars, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, have avoided exploring this period for want of scientific curiosity and dispassionate understanding among the public. Therefore the present work attempts to fill the lacuna by completing the historical line of inquiry about the Dravidian heritage by undertaking the unfinished task of an assessment of the AIADMK, and interpreting the socio-political idioms of contemporary Tamil Nadu.

The major aim of this study in contemporary history is to examine the objectives and aims, ideologies and internal dynamics, roles, and philosophies of change, achievements and failures, compulsions and drawbacks of a regional party in a federal context, taking the AIADMK as a case study. Such a study promotes a two-fold purpose: a regional party is adjudged and a further understanding of the socio-political circumstances of modern contemporary Tamil Nadu is facilitated.

A study of the AIADMK may bring fresh insights about the circumstances in which a regional party is born. Secondly, it may also reveal the ideological basis on which a regional party hopes to survive. Thirdly, a recent explanation may be possible about the inner organizational dynamics of a regional party. Fourthly, an appreciation about the capacity of a regional party to translate its ideological principles into imaginative programmatics may be made. Fifthly, an understanding about the electoral efforts, propaganda techniques and coalition strategies of a regional

party may be reached. Sixthly, it may also reveal how a regional party is free from the pressures of power politics which an All-India party suffers as a consequence of omnipotent central leadership. Finally, an answer may be possible to the two inescapable questions: Why does Tamil Nadu persistently promote a regional party to power and is it not possible to dispense with parties like these? Above all, the AIADMK deserves scholarly scrutiny in its own right.

In trying to answer the basic questions about the AIADMK as a regional party, historical methodology has been adopted. Data for historical method have been collected chiefly from newspapers, archives and from interviews. These sources are commonly referred to as 'paper' and 'people'. Whereas libraries provide secondary data, people are the rich sources for primary data. The historical method has been split into four distinct strategies of research in this work. Primarily archival research has yielded data from 'paper' sources. From here, particulars relating to demographic variables, literacy, departmental administration and election results are collected. Secondly, exploitation of the community's resources has furnished data from 'paper' sources. From the party headquarters of the AIADMK information relating to organization, structure, leadership tussles, programmes, membership and financial position of the party has been gathered. Careful and systematic analysis of periodicals has been the third strategy with regard to 'paper' sources. From here, facts and opinions about election results, party programmes, estimates of achievements and failures, public response to administrative activities and clarifications of policies by AIADMK are accumulated. Clinical interview has been the fourth strategy to collect data from 'people' sources. Less structured interviews of the type of clinical interviews bring out broad underlying feelings and motivations or life's experiences of an individual. Therefore persons who have been intimately connected with the AIADMK, have been approached and interviewed. From them first hand information relating to

organisational problems, ideological dispositions, federal relations and administrative policies are heard and assessed.

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## SOCIO-POLITICAL PROFILE OF TAMIL NADU FROM 1967 TO THE PRESENT

Political identity is defined as the primary allegiance of the citizens towards the political unit to which they belong.<sup>1</sup> As an abstraction, political identity is considered to be a certain consciousness of the masses who seek specific political goals. At the practical level, it is definite political actions by the masses which develop into political institutions. What is important is that the nature of political consciousness always determines the type of political organizations that may emerge.

However, political consciousness itself depends on the needs and characteristics of the society. There are two major theories which try to explain the relationship between society and the polity. These may be termed as the primordialist and instrumentalist theories.<sup>2</sup> A primordialist holds that social characteristics automatically become the backbone of a polity. He believes that God, or Nature, had designed the political communities recognizable by distinct primordial attributes like language, race, religion, geography etc. For him political identities are 'given' or 'preordained'. But an instrumentalist considers that political identities are 'chosen'; that is out of an infinite range of possible cultural identities of the society, a few of them may be selected as the bases for political identity and political success. He considers that political identity is a phenomenon of the transition from tradition to modernity.

In trying to answer the question, What sort of political

identity has existed in Tamil Nadu around the year 1967 and thereafter, Section I of this chapter enumerates the socio-demographic features of Tamil society. Section II attempts a classification of the political forces of Tamil Nadu. Section III explains the reasons for failure of the national tradition and Section IV outlines the reasons for the success of the regional tradition. Section V offers a few conclusions.

### *Section I: Socio-demographic Features of Tamil Nadu*

According to the 1961 census, Tamil Nadu had a population of 3,36,86,900.<sup>3</sup> It had increased by 22.3 percent in 1971 reaching a total of 4,11,99,168 (Seventh in India). Tamil Nadu has an area of 1,30,069 square kilometres (Eleventh in India) with a density rate of 317 per sq. km. (Fourth in India). In 1971 Tamil Nadu had the second highest percentage of literacy (39.46%).<sup>4</sup>

According to the 1981 census, Tamil Nadu has a population of 48,408,077, which marks an increase of 17.23 per cent. In absolute numbers nearly 7.1 million people have been added to the State's population, during the decade 1971-81. The birth rate in Tamil Nadu is 28.1 per thousand while its death rate is as low as 12 per thousand. The decrease in both birth and death rates is due to improved public health and family welfare measures. However the density of population has increased to 371 persons per sq. km. The sex ratio is 978 females per thousand males. During 1971-81, the percentage of literates has gone up to 45.78 per cent. Tamil Nadu holds the third rank in literacy among all the states of India. The Scheduled Caste population of Tamil Nadu is 8,881,295 and its Scheduled Tribe population totals to 520,226. The state has six major cities and 14 urban agglomerations in all.<sup>5</sup>

With a climate, which is basically tropical, Tamil Nadu enjoys summers which are less hot and winters which are

less cold, than those experienced in north-Indian states. The state is exposed to both the South-West monsoon and the North East monsoon and the normal rainfall in the state is about 946 mms. This is bordering on optimal fulfilment.<sup>6</sup>

This average rainfall had caused the migration of the agricultural and rural populations to cities. The rural urban composition of the population of Tamil Nadu over a period of 80 years has undergone significant changes. In 1901, 85.85 percent of the total population was rural. In 1981 that percentage had shrunk to 67.02 per cent. This indicates a rapid increase of urban population from a mere 14.15 per cent in 1901 to 32.98 per cent in 1981.<sup>7</sup>

The average rainfall has led to underutilization of the available land. The land utilization data from 1920-21 to 1980-81 shows only a narrow range of fluctuation in the proportion of net sown area to total land in the state. It was always between 40 to 48 per cent of the total land area of the state. But the proportion of the net sown area to the total arable land has been fluctuating from 62.4 per cent in 1951 to 76.2 per cent in 1981. There were significant and enormous inter-district variations. Again the proportion of net area irrigated to net area sown was about 41.63 percent in 1981. All this shows that Tamil Nadu has been a marginally surplus state in rainy years with regard to its agricultural output and the state begins to face acute shortages on the food front when drought conditions prevail. Despite planning and all other efforts, irrigation and agricultural output continue to be problematic affairs till date.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand the increasing literacy and the urban population have combined to provide sufficient infrastructures for the industrialization of Tamil Nadu. Planning and other efforts by the central government, and the Congress Ministry under Kamaraj, had added impetus and zest to the entrepreneurial skill of Tamil Nadu. From a mere 272 factories in 1951-52,<sup>9</sup> Tamil Nadu had progressed to 8539 factories in 1975-76 and these factories now function with a fixed capital of 14,55,75 lakhs and their net income is estimated



at 51,895 lakhs.<sup>10</sup> Because of this Tamil Nadu has impressively gained the third place in the industrial map of India. Thus Tamil Nadu has the basic economic potential to function as a self-sufficient state in both agricultural and industrial fronts. So, the efforts of the Tamils to achieve economic modernization remains as a strong under-current in the government and politics of Tamil Nadu.

On the social front, an enthusiasm for social reform is earnestly exhibited by the Tamils. By and large Tamil society is usually divided into four groups: Brahmins, non-Brahmins belonging to the higher castes, Backward classes and Harijans. Non-Brahmins constitute a heterogeneous group and they expediently take Harijans along with them on certain issues and leave them out on others. Generally it may be stated that the Justice Party represented the higher caste Hindus while the DMK and AIADMK, came to represent the backward classes and Harijans. The domination of Brahmins in all walks of life and in the Indian National Congress, during the British period came in for harsh treatment and condemnation at the hands of the Justice Party and its offshoots. After Independence, the Congress itself was speedily non-Brahminised under the leadership of Kamaraj. Thus anti-Brahminism is a strong motive force in the politics of Tamil Nadu.<sup>11</sup>

Anti-Brahminism has been responsible for the birth of several caste associations in Tamil Nadu.<sup>12</sup> Since the turn of the century these caste associations have superseded general social reform movements and have carried the main weight of Hindu social reform movement.

Created to enhance the social prestige and economic welfare of certain castes, all caste associations have instructed their members in reforms of personal behaviour, marriage practices, religious rituals, and urged and actively arranged educational and employment opportunities for the community. In this process castes have become a major factor in the politics of Tamil Nadu. Thus the politics of Tamil Nadu has registered a movement from the higher to the

politics of the lower castes. Conversely, it may also be stated that the politics of Tamil Nadu has moved from numerically smaller castes to those castes which have numerical superiority and majority.

Despite the numerical near equality of the population of women and men in Tamil Nadu 23,920,453/women: 24,487,624/men, their literacy is a poor 34.12 per cent (when compared with the males who have registered a percentage of 57.19)<sup>13</sup>. Women continue to suffer under Hindu orthodoxy, and in this respect, the efforts of even the caste associations are not significant enough. Social reforms, which aim at equal education, employment, and political opportunities for women, are patiently awaited by them<sup>14</sup>.

Likewise the Scheduled Tribes are the worst sufferers of the 'Varnashrama dharma' system of Hindu social life. The Scheduled Caste literacy rate is 29.5 per cent and the Scheduled Tribe literacy rate is 20.4 per cent. Despite all the efforts of the central and state governments in all these 40 years of independence by reserving 18% of employment and educational opportunities, for Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes their lot continues to be pathetic.<sup>15</sup> Therefore Tamils expect more social reforms (through individuals, institutions, caste organizations and government) in their social structure and for womenfolk.

Of the 48.4 millions of Tamil Nadu, 82% are Tamils. The largest linguistic minority group are the Telugus who comprise 11% of the population.<sup>16</sup> Tamil is a Dravidian language which has a distinguished ancient literature and tradition rivalled only by Sanskrit. While sanskrit has become a dead language (having only academic repute), Tamil continues to be a living language. The Tamils take pride about this cultural feat. Further it is claimed Tamil is the mother language which has given birth to the other South Indian languages — Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Therefore they glorify their mother-tongue and vehemently oppose any move from any quarter which tries to undermine this cultural superiority. The Tamils also do

not like and decline to promote any political party which does not share this cultural elation. Therefore the politics of language has also become one of the major determinants in the socio-political process of Tamil Nadu.<sup>17</sup>

On the political side there is a genuine concern among the Tamils for political stability. They consider very seriously that any political instability, would only result in the retardation of economic progress and social changes. With that aim, they offer their political support to those political parties which they think would provide a stable government and steady administration. Their acumen for political change is praiseworthy. They have effected smooth political changes from the Justice Party to Congress in 1937; from the Congress to DMK in 1967; and from the DMK to the AIADMK in 1977. Thus a primary concern for political stability always exists among the Tamils.<sup>18</sup>

In the Socio-political process of Tamil Nadu, four major undercurrents may be discerned, viz., the efforts for economic progress, the endeavour for social reforms, the pride for cultural superiority and the pragmatic sense for political stability. Any institution, individual or party that has forgotten these socio-political variables of Tamil Nadu has been washed away. It proves that political identity among the Tamils may be obtained if only these variables are taken into proper consideration.

## *Section II: Political Forces of Tamil Nadu*

Around the turn of the present century, the acquisition of Western liberal education has prompted the Brahmins of Tamil Nadu to indulge in political aspirations. They had contributed very largely to the building up of the Indian National Congress and later dominated that organization in deciding its ends and means. The non-Brahmins of Tamil Nadu, who had been fast catching up with the Brahmins in education, had found to their distress that the Brahmin

monopoly in every walk of life was unshakable. Therefore the non-Brahmins entered into a social controversy with the Brahmins and they did not hesitate to employ political means to solve that conflict. The non-Brahmin's political instrument was the Justice Party. Thus social problems had their sharp reflections in the political areas of the Tamils, and this trend continues to dictate till today.

Politically speaking, the Brahmins had initiated the organisation of national forces in Tamil Nadu and the non-Brahmins were responsible for the collection of the regional forces. As time passed the national forces divided into four major traditions, viz., Congress, Communist, Socialist and Conservative. Likewise the regional tradition crystallised into two groups, viz., parties for the welfare of the non-Brahmins (or progressively for Backward communities) and parties for the promotion of the glory and development of the Tamil language.

While recapitulating the Congress tradition in Tamil Nadu both the parent body and its offshoots must be taken into consideration.<sup>19</sup> The Indian National Congress was assiduously built up by G. Subramanya Iyer, Subramania Bharathi, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, V.V.S. Iyer, and others during the pre-Gandhian era. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, S. Satyamurti, C. Rajagopalachari and others were the motive forces of the Congress during the Gandhian era. Congress contested elections and won power for the first time in the Madras Presidency in 1937. Its two year rule under the Prime Ministership of C. Rajagopalachari established a broad base for the organization. Again the Congress was successful in the 1946 elections winning 165 seats out of 215. However, immediately after Independence Congress lost some of its credibility because of the ministerial instabilities under T. Prakasam, O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar and K. Kumarasamy Raja. The first general elections in 1952 brought in again C. Rajagopalachari as Chief Minister. But he bowed out of office because of the non-Brahmin opposition inside the Congress, to his

plan of educational reforms.

The new parliamentary situation after the separation of Andhra Pradesh in October, 1953, strengthened the position of the non-Brahmin forces inside the Congress under the leadership of K. Kamaraj, who had been the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress since 1940. Kamaraj ousted Rajagopalachari on March 31, 1954 and formed his new ministry which consisted no Brahmins. Kamaraj continued as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu till 1962, when he resigned from the office to revitalize the Congress organization. His lieutenant Bhaktavatsalam became the Chief Minister immediately and continued upto 1967, when Congress was decisively defeated by the DMK.

Mrs. Gandhi's dichotomisation of the Congress in 1969 was not favourable for Mrs. Gandhi in Tamil Nadu.<sup>20</sup> Kamaraj remained in the organizational Congress. C. Subramaniam, O.V. Alagesan, and M. Bhaktavatsalam joined the Congress (N). In the 1971 General Elections in Tamil Nadu, the Congress, (O) was trounced but the Congress (N) barely managed to survive because of its electoral understanding with the DMK with regard to parliamentary constituencies. Thereafter the Congress (O) began to decline in Tamil Nadu. The death of Kamaraj in the wake of the Emergency in October 1975 left the Congress (O) in further trouble. Some of the leaders of the Congress (O) were willing for unity with the Congress (N). The move was initiated by Mrs. Gandhi herself and in 1976, in Mrs. Gandhi's presence, the unity was effected. Karupiah Moopanar, Kannadasan and Sivaji Ganesan were the leaders who joined the Congress (N) at the time of unity. Forces which opposed the unity move had stood behind P. Ramachandran, a trusted lieutenant of Kamaraj in the post-1967 days.

When the Janata Party was formed in 1977, the Congress forces under the leadership of P. Ramachandran joined the Janata Party in their entirety. However, Kumari Ananthan, one of the lieutenants of the Congress (O)

started a new party in 1978 calling it the 'Gandhi-Kamaraj National Congress', following his differences with the Janata Party. The GKNC has a sizable following in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu and it has merged with the Congress (I) in 1987.

After the lifting of the Emergency and the obtaining of power by the Janata Party in 1977, commotion prevailed in the Congress (N), opposing Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. C. Subramaniam, O. V. Alagesan and M. Bhaktavatsalam opposed Mrs. Gandhi. In the split that ensued, these three leaders remained in the Congress (U). When Mrs. Gandhi formed her new Congress (I), Moopanar and Sivaji Ganesan went along with her. It was strange that the conservatives of the first split had become the revolutionaries of the second split, and the revolutionaries of the first split became the conservatives of the second split. However Mrs. Gandhi's reemergence in 1980, prompted a second unity move. This time the entire Congress (U) merged with the Congress (I). But the migration to Congress (I) was an individualistic affair. Meanwhile P. Nedumaran, a strong supporter of Mrs. Gandhi in her Emergency days, became dissatisfied with the alliance with the DMK and the functioning of Congress (I) under the new leadership from the erstwhile Congress (O). Therefore he started a regional party of the Congress tradition in 1980 with the name, 'Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress'. The defeat of the Janata Party in 1980 left P. Ramachandran in the lurch. Finally he also chose to rejoin the Congress (I) in 1981. These maze of changes in party affiliations in the 1970's should have resulted in the emergence of the Congress (I) as a towering force. However, it is not so in practice. Congress (I) remains as weak as the Congress (N) was in 1969.

The second important political forces of the national tradition are the communists.<sup>21</sup> As such the Communist Party of India was formed in 1924. But communism in Tamil Nadu had a very shaky foundation and they did not come into their own till 1936. Utilising the opportunity

extended by Jaya Prakash Narayan, the communists infiltrated the Congress Socialist Party and in Madras, the Communists had carried away the CSP. When Jaya Prakash realised the damage, it was already too late. However, in order to support the British war effort (because of the Soviet Union's joining hands with the Allied Powers), the communists did not participate in the Quit India Movement. Because of this volte face, the Communists lost their social base in Tamil Nadu.

Independence brought several academic and practical problems for the Communists. They had been making several ideological quarrels with regard to the problems of the nature of Indian Independence, Nehru's government, Nehru's Foreign Policy etc. When their opinions sharply polarised in 1958, the split among the Communists was delayed by the Russians. The Sino-Indian conflict in 1962 again threw the Communists in turmoil. Eventually the split among them occurred in 1964.

The Pragmatic Communists of Tamil Nadu did not participate in the ideological quarrels till 1962. However organizational worries had made P. Ramamurti to split the party in 1964. The CPI, and the new party CPI (M) had almost equal strength when the split had occurred.

The CPI (M) was really interested in working out a parliamentary strategy of Communism in India. This was disliked by several of the radical Bengalis, and they split the CPI (M) in 1969 to form the CPI (ML). The CPI (ML) is also known as the Naxalite Movement, because of their beginnings in Naxalbari Village in West Bengal. The Naxalite Movement in Tamil Nadu proved to be a shaky affair because of excessive state suppression. In Tamil Nadu, the CPI, CPI (M) and the CPI (ML) are all functioning today.

The third important force of the national tradition are the socialists.<sup>29</sup> Immediately after the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, Jaya Prakash Narayan toured Tamil Nadu to organize a branch here. However the mismanagement of the party affairs led to the loss of the

Tamil Nadu Branch to the infiltration of the Communists between 1936-40. When the Communists were expelled from the CSP in 1940, very few socialists remained.

As such the socialist movement in India contained three important streams in it, viz Marxists, Democrats and Gandhians. In Tamil Nadu only the later two streams were to be found. The Gandhian socialists bowed out of politics to enter the Bhoodan Movement along with Jaya Prakash in 1955. Those who remained split among themselves in 1955 when Ram Manohar Lohia formed his 'Socialist Party of India (Lohia)'. After a confusing situation, following several splits and mergers between the two socialists parties, a majority of the PSP members migrated to the Congress using the pretext of Ashok Mehta's thesis in 1963. In April, 1959, S. C. C. Anthony Pillai of SP (L), formed an Independent Party in Madras, which after two years merged with the Tamil National Party of E. V. K. Sampath.

The PSP became a discredited force in the subsequent general elections. Likewise the SP (L) was also losing its ground. In 1967 the entire PSP and SSP i.e., S (L) entered into an electoral alliance with the DMK. In the 1971 elections the PSP and the SSP found themselves in opposite camps of electoral alliances. After the unification of the PSP and the SSP in 1974, all the Socialists joined the Janata Party in 1977.

The fourth important force of the national tradition is formed by the conservatives. Conservatives themselves can be subgrouped into communal and non-communal traditions. The Indian Union Muslim League and Bharathiya Janata Party follow communal traditions.<sup>23</sup> The Swatantra Party before it lost its identity as a separate political entity belonged to the non-communal tradition.<sup>24</sup>

The All India Muslim League, which was started by Sir Sayyaid Ahamed Khan in 1906 lost its *raison d'être* after the partition of Pakistan. In 1948, the Muslim leaders of South India, hailing mostly from Malabar, met at a conference in the city of Madras and revived the League under a slightly



modified name, the Indian Union Muslim League. The objectives of the party as restated by its President, Mohammed Ismail of Madras, was to serve and safeguard the integrity, honour and prestige of the Indian Union and to have cordial relations and harmony between the Muslims and other communities. The League on October 21-22, 1956 resolved at Madras to contest the second general elections. In the 1957 elections the Muslim League contested against the Congress, and in 1962 and 1967 it joined hands with the DMK. In 1970, D. Abdul Basheer charged that the League was not functioning in a democratic way under the Presidentship of Mohammed Ismail. He held a convention of 600 people at Salem on March 15, 1970 to proclaim his new party as the 'Muslim League Party of Tamil Nadu'. Today, both the Indian Union Muslim League and the Muslim League Party of Tamil Nadu function effectively as partners of electoral fronts in Tamil Nadu.

The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, which was formed in 1951, did not have any roots in the South. The party contested the 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1971, general elections and drew a blank in all the elections. The BJS merged with the Janata in 1977. In 1980, the BJS renamed itself as the Bharatiya Janata Party. Today the BJP exists as an effective political group only in the Madras City and in the Kanyakumari District.

The restatement of the objective of the Congress in 1955 at Avadi, as the achievement of a socialistic pattern of society, proved to be a sensational turn for the liberals and conservatives of India. On June 4-5, 1959, at Madras, they held the founding conference of their 'Swatantra Party' under the Presidentship of C. Rajogopalachari. The Swatantra contested unsuccessfully along with DMK in the 1962 elections. But in 1967, CR blessed the DMK - Swatantra electoral alliance. He was one of the key factors for the DMK's victory in the 1967 elections. The Swatantra remained in the DMK camp during the 1971 elections also. However, as the Swatantra in Tamil Nadu had not taken advan-

tage of the existing climate in favour of decentralization and state autonomy for which it was campaigning in the past, S. S. Mariswami, a leader of the erstwhile Indian National Democratic Front of V. K. Ramasami Mudaliar and who played a significant role in the formation of Swatantra and in popularizing its philosophy, resigned from the Swatantra and joined the DMK in February, 1972. The death of Rajaji in 1972 led the Swatantrites to disband the organization. Most of the leaders of the Swatantra migrated to the Congress, the DMK or the Janata Parties.

The genealogy of the Regional Parties, which professes the welfare of the non-Brahmins and Backward Communities, can be seen sequentially in the Justice Party (formed in 1916), the self-respect movement (formed in 1925), the Dravidar Kazhagam (formed in 1944), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (formed in 1949) and the AIADMK (formed in 1972).<sup>25</sup> The Regional parties, which have attempted the propagation of the glory and development of the Tamil Language, were the We-Tamil Movement,<sup>26</sup> the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam<sup>27</sup> and the Tamil Desiya Katchi.<sup>28</sup>

S. B. Adityan was born in Tirunelveli but practised law in Malaya till 1943. He returned to Madras in that year and started the Tamil Rajya Katchi (Tamil State Party). The party ceased to function in 1944. He joined the Congress, but left that organisation following his differences with Kamaraj in 1951. In 1951-52 he worked with the Communists and was one of the architects of the United Front formed to fight the elections. After his Russian tour in 1953, he organized the Agricultural workers Union of Chingleput in 1954. He dallied with the Lohia socialists in 1956 but did not stay there. After a year's rethinking Adityan brought into being the Nam Tamilar Iyakkam (We-Tamil Movement) on February 9, 1958.

Manifestly a non-Brahmin party, the Nam Tamilar Iyakkam claimed to be broader based than the Kazhagams. Anyone whose mother tongue was Tamil, or whose culture was Tamil or who loved Tamil Nadu as his motherland, was

admitted into the party irrespective of his caste or community or creed. The movement did not hesitate to assume an anti-Malayalee, anti-Telugu, or anti-Kannada attitude if it served the Tamil interests.

The well-known poet of Tamil Nadu, Bharatidasan had been one of the founder-members of the NTI. The party aimed at establishing an Independent sovereign Tamil Republic comprising Madras, Tamil pockets in the three adjoining states and Northern Ceylon. It wanted freedom from New Delhi, to take its rightful place among the sovereign states of the World. The party wanted parliamentary role in India and the status of a political movement in Northern Ceylon.

By 1965 the party came close to the DMK and in 1967 Adityan fought the election successfully on a DMK ticket. He first became Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and then the Minister for Co-operation in the Cabinet of Karunanidhi.

The Tamil Arasu Kazhagam (The Tamil State Federation) was started by M. P. Sivagnana Gramani in 1947 as a cultural group within the Tamil Nadu Congress. Gramani, whose formal schooling is only upto the primary standard, is self-educated and was inspired by the study of Tamil classics during the period of his incarceration on political grounds. The TAK demanded the linguistic reorganization of the states and agitated independently against the inclusion of certain Tamil border areas in Andhra, for which it was expelled from the Congress. However, when in 1960 Tamil Nadu had got those areas back, the Congress offered to take the TAK back into its fold. But M. P. Sivagnanam declined the offer. His party opposed the DK and DMK but it demanded a fully autonomous Tamil Nadu, leaving for the Centre only such functions as defence, communication and foreign affairs. However, M. P. Sivagnanam migrated first to the DMK in 1967 and later to the AIADMK in 1977.

When the Congress leader, C. Subramaniam in December 1959 questioned the political intentions of the DMK, Anna-

durai in a resilient mood replied that his party stood for the achievement of a fully autonomous Southern state by suitable amendment to the Constitution. Expressing serious concern at Annadurai's subterfuge, E. V. K. Sampath, a prominent leader of the DMK, addressed a secret letter to its General Council cautioning the leadership against developing cold feet and calling for struggle and supreme sacrifice for the attainment of a sovereign Southern state.

The meeting of the General Council held in June 1959 at the instance of Annadurai, elected Sampath as the chief of the Action Committee constituted to fight the imposition of Hindi. As a means of further resolving the differences between the two leaders, in September 1959 the party unanimously elected Sampath its Chairman, and Annadurai its general secretary. However, fresh disagreements arose when Annadurai favoured an alliance with the Swatantra Party as opposed to the left front conceived by Sampath.

The film actors controlling the finances of the DMK turned hostile to Sampath who was subjected to physical violence more than once allegedly by the supporters of Annadurai. In February 1961 with a view to cleanse the party of corruption and conflicts, Sampath went on a fast, which after a few days he gave up, on an assurance from Annadurai that steps would be taken to purify the party and maintain its unity. Nevertheless, on his return in April 1961 from New Delhi after attending a parliamentary session, Sampath found to his dismay that contrary to the assurance given, a systematic attempt was made to victimize the party-men who had agreed with his views. In protest, Sampath who had earlier relinquished the chairmanship of the party resigned his membership. Between April 7 and 17, 1961, 20,000 members, five MLAs, presidents of 24 DMK controlled panchayats, the DMK Mayor of Madras and several leading members of the general council quit the party to join Sampath. The dissidents met at a conference on April 19, 1961, and formed the *Tamizh Desiya Katchi* (Tamil National Party) under the leadership of Sampath.

The party stood for a fully autonomous Tamil Nadu with the right to secede if necessary.

The Tamil National Party launched agitations against the imposition of Hindi on June 24, 1962, and April 28, 1963, with such a measure of success that Nehru himself promised Sampath that the assurances given in regard to the indefinite use of English would not be by-passed by any government.

As a result of the persuasive efforts of K. Kamaraj, then President of the Congress, the Tamil National Party, which had 50,000 members, merged with the Congress on August 15, 1964. However, discouraged by the defeat of the Congress (O), on October 2, 1971, Sampath and his group seceded and joined the Congress (N).

### *Section III: The Weakness of the National Tradition*

The Communist movement in Tamil Nadu is almost 50 years old and is now a fragmented quantity.<sup>29</sup> Besides, the two communist parties co-opted by the system, there are almost a dozen Naxalite groups who might present a political-ideological challenge and are of little consequence electorally. The Communist Movement has gone through several tortuous dialectical zig-zags before arriving at this stage to be able to attempt disproving Marx.

What is significant is that the two communist parties were incapable of challenging the Congress before 1967 and the regional parties thereafter. This is because the Communist Movement is yet to discover the idiom of revolution in Tamil Nadu. Both parties have subordinated strategy to tactics, pleading that they are weak in the total correlation of forces. The abandonment of the revolutionary perspective and the long-term goal is at once the cause and the result of their co-option into the system. The Naxalites have not abandoned revolution but are yet to arrive at that idiom. An agrarian programme, linked to protracted armed

struggle and a two-stage revolution, is not enough. A hundred intermediate situations have to be reckoned with. So what remains in Tamil Nadu is the paradox of Communists without a revolution and revolutionaries without a Communist party.

The Socialists did not begin their efforts at all.<sup>30</sup> Organizationally they found themselves to be lost to the communists. Factionalism inside the socialist movement at the all-India level sapped the energy of the few socialists in Tamil Nadu. In the hope of opposing the Congress, they joined hands with regional forces but only to be lost among them. Their arriving at the Janata party in 1977 did not alter materially either their own plight or the socio-political issues at stake in Tamil Nadu.

With regard to the conservatives, the Muslim League concentrated its electoral activities in Kerala most of the time. In Tamil Nadu, it was content with a few seats of electoral adjustments either with regional parties or with the Congress. They did not proceed further than that.<sup>31</sup> The Jan Sangh did not concentrate on Tamil Nadu and it functioned only during the election years. Most of the time it contested the few seats in the Madras City and in all the seven general elections, it is yet to send a representative to the Assembly.<sup>32</sup> The Swatantra was a strong force in the sixties. Most of the Brahmins switched their loyalties from the Congress to the Swatantra. But their liberalism was lost in the midst of the socialist slogans of the national and regional parties. Brahmins in their revolutionary roles may be acceptable to the politics of Tamil Nadu, but they are no match for the conservative outlook of the non-Brahmins.<sup>33</sup>

These National parties in Tamil Nadu in general, had been wanting in democratic essentials to make a harmonious adjustment between regional demands and national objectives. Mostly they have treated this issue in unrealistic isolation. Similarly they took organizational decisions without giving due weight to personal views and therefore

the aggrieved leaders were in constant motion. They hardly exhibited any patience and will to synthesize objectively the plurality of views emerging in the organization. They were disinclined to enhance their talents by hard work. Their conflicts were more a means for their ego satisfaction. Their growing tendency to settle controversial issues, not on the basis of clear principles, but by personal influence, was the major reason for all factions and splits. Therefore the organizing capacities of the national forces did not produce tangible results, reversing unfavourable social responses. As political fulfilment is measured not by the effectiveness of the role played, but only by the actual achievement of parliamentary power, even leaders of these national parties migrated to Congress or the regional parties which wielded power, like recanting and repenting prodigals.

As far as the Congress was concerned, the problems were different.<sup>34</sup> The Congress was not the outcome of any ideology. Its founders, the early liberals, were believers in gradualism, moderation, and constitutionalism. They left the party as they would not work with extremists, advocacy of defiance of law and militant mass action. When Gandhi assumed leadership, he did not formulate any ideology. He, however, absorbed all that was valuable in the thought and experience of the Congress till his time and made his own additions and enrichments. Not all those, who accepted his leadership, were subscribers to his ideas. Gandhi was successful in imposing his personality on all who were around him but failed to convince even his political successor of the efficacy of all his contributions. Communists, Socialists, Conformists, Conventionalists, Radicals and a host of others functioned within the Congress amidst stresses and strains. For all of them, Nehru set the goal of a socialistic pattern of society. It is a pattern evolved by the Congress in its own way and as suited to its genius.

Only Kamaraj was a faithful disciple of Nehru in elaborating and activating the idea of democratic socialism in

Tamil Nadu.<sup>35</sup> Since anyone can pick up any thread from the Congress it needs a sense of pragmatism to pick up the correct thread suited to a specific culture amidst Indian plurality. In Kamaraj's view socialistic social structure was the only alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and regimentation of the totalitarian state. Further he believed that the establishment of such a socio-economic structure would alleviate all other problems of the Tamils. Thus Kamaraj was readily responding to the feeling of the Tamils in their endeavour to effect economic modernization. But Kamaraj's belief that economic regeneration would set all other problems at naught was not relished by the Tamils who wanted copious and specific attempts from personalities, institutions and government to reform the society.<sup>36</sup>

That does not mean that the Congress was free from Caste politicization. The induction of M.A. Manickavelu Naicker and S.S. Ramasamy Padayachi in the Cabinet and the obtaining of open support from EVR were examples of the genius of Congress' caste politics. But this caste politics was attempted to strengthen the non-Brahmin political base of Congress and not for any social changes among the Tamils. Likewise, Kamaraj's increasing recognition of the linguistic-cultural pride of the Tamils was evidenced by the Bill he introduced in February 1962 in the Assembly, which sought the change of name of Madras to Tamil Nadu and for making Madurai the Capital of Tamil Nadu. Similarly C. Subramaniam took efforts to introduce the instruction in Tamil medium in all Government Arts Colleges from 1960. The State government passed the order for the four-stage use of Tamil in administration. The Congress government also resolved in the Assembly in September, 1960, to request the Central Government to undertake appropriate legislation regarding the continued use of English for official purposes.

But in 1965 the Congress did not understand the emotions of the Tamils. Bhakthavatsalam was belligerent and showed noticeable lack of enthusiasm in assessing the public



opinion on Hindi. Such a state of affairs only showed the erosion of the balance Kamaraj and the Congress had established between its all-India commitments and the demands of Tamil revivalism and regionalism. Thus, the Congress was more concerned with the economic prosperity (which was its all-India policy), and felt that such an endeavour was enough for the social progress of the Tamils. The rejection of the specific interests of the Tamils—social reform, cultural pride and political stability led to the decline of its political base. The strength (from the all-India perspective) and weakness (from the perspective of the Tamils) of the Congress accrued from its selection of the economic variable alone.

#### *Section IV: The Strength of the Regional Tradition*

Political regionalism in Tamil Nadu had established its tradition as early as in 1916. Rule of Law, Western education, and liberalism of the British combined to produce a remarkable effect on the minority community of Brahmins around the beginning of this century in the erstwhile Madras Presidency. The Brahmin dominance had rested on several factors: ethnic differences from the bulk of the population, the high status sanctioned by religion, large numbers of Brahmins in the field of education, the professions and in the leadership of the nationalist movement etc. The non-Brahmins naturally resented this administrative, educational, political, economic and social monopoly of the Brahmins. What had aggrieved the non-Brahmins was the dogged resistance put up by the Brahmins against the share for non-Brahmins in government, educational institutions and political leadership.<sup>37</sup>

With the objective of defending the rights of non-Brahmins, in 1912 Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, the Raja of Panagal, Dr. T. Madhavan Nair, and Manavala Ramanujam formed the Dravidian Association. In 1916, they together

with Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti founded the South Indian People's Association. It issued a historic document, 'Non-Brahmin Manifesto' on November 26, 1917 which vigorously opposed the transfer of power to the Congress controlled by the Brahmins. After the announcement of the Montford Reforms, the Association converted itself into the 'South Indian Liberal Federation', otherwise known as the Justice Party. The first conference of the party was held in August 1917 at Coimbatore. The leaders of the party were the English educated urban elite, whose intellectual and moral convictions inaugurated a new era in the politics of Tamil Nadu. The programme of the party included the removal of untouchability, abolition of caste system and communal representation. Its party organ *Justice* had its Tamil version in *Dravidian* and Telugu version in *Andhra Prakasika*. The Justicites easily got into the legislature in the election of 1920 and continued in office until 1936, interrupted by only a period of four years from 1926 to 1930. The issuing of a government order in 1922 for regulating admissions in educational institutions and appointments in government services was a major success for the Justice Party.

[E.V. Ramaswamy, Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Congress, at its Tirunelveli session in 1920, tabled a resolution which favoured communal representation in the legislature and services as a first step towards ensuring social justice. The Brahmin wing of the Congress led by C. Rajagopalachari worked against the resolution and got it ruled out by the President. After trying unsuccessfully for the same issue for four years, EVR vowed at the Kanchipuram session in 1925, to destroy the Congress. He started the 'Suya Mariyathai Iyyakkam' (Self-Respect Movement) in 1925 to raise the non-Brahmins from the position of underdogs to self-reliant citizens. The Movement demanded the abolition of castes and untouchability and propagated rationalism in social life. It lent its support to the Justicites.<sup>38</sup>

The fishes and loaves of office had destroyed the Justice

Party's contact with the people. Therefore EVR was elected as the President of the Justice Party in 1938 to revitalize the party. In 1944, at its special conference at Salem, the Justice Party was merged with the Self-Respect Movement to form the Dravida Kazhagam. The Kazhagam stood for the Welfare of the non-Brahmins, abolition of Castes and untouchability and for social service. The DK also wanted the attainment of a sovereign independent Dravidian Republic. But the movement did not like to participate in political activities and elections.<sup>39</sup>

Prior to his election as the President of the Justice Party in 1944, EVR carried out an agitation, with tremendous success, against the imposition of Hindi as one of the compulsory languages for school children. In 1948 he condemned the Congress government for its order that school children should get certain required marks in Hindi for their promotion to the next class. The systematic propagation of Hindi and the prominence given in the central government organizations was also resented by the DK. EVR held a Hindi-erasure Campaign in Railway stations and Central Government Organisations in 1953.<sup>40</sup>

EVR, who began his European tour in the early 1932, spent a good part of the tour in USSR lecturing in several places, and returned to India about the end of October 1932. His tour of the USSR made EVR realise that the only country in the whole world which was able to successfully attack religion, superstitions and capitalism was the Soviet Union. Therefore he began a new party on 28th and 29th December, 1932 at Erode. The new party was named the 'Self-Respect Socialist Party'. It was also called the 'Sama-dharma Party of South India'. EVR worked hard to popularise his party unmindful of his wife's death. However, EVR abandoned interest in this party following the banning of the Communist Party in July 1934.<sup>41</sup>

Soon after Independence, C. N. Annadurai and his younger group inside the DK felt that the policy of abstaining from elections must be changed. He was of the view

that the DK should take up all political activities, including participation in elections. They also demanded the democratization of the party. EVR was not prepared to concede any change either in the role of the party or in its structure.

In 1949, EVR who was then 72, announced his marriage with 28 years old Maniammai and nominated her as his successor. C. N. Annadurai and his group opposed this unequal marriage as also the undemocratic succession it sought to impose on the party. Protesting against this, CNA founded his Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam on September 17, 1949. From 1949 to 1957 this party served the people only as a social organization. At first the party had the aim of creating a separate Dravidastan comprising the four southern states. But in the wake of the Chinese aggression, Annadurai bowed to the spirit of the times by abandoning the idea of Dravidastan on 23.10.1963. This was a turning point in the history of the DMK.<sup>42</sup>

The DMK contested the elections for the first time in 1957. It secured 15 seats in the Assembly and 2 seats in the Parliament. It polled 13.8% of votes.<sup>43</sup> This was a moderate beginning. Emboldened by the encouraging success at the General Elections in 1957, DMK contested 90 seats at the Madras City Corporation Election of 1959. The DMK won 45 seats against the Congress which secured 37 seats, though the congress contested all the 100 seats.<sup>44</sup>

In the Third General Elections the DMK improved its position to become the official opposition party. The DMK secured 50 seats in Assembly and 7 seats in the Parliament with 27.1% votes in their favour. Thus the party was well set to provide an alternative to the Congress. The era of regional politics had already dawned.<sup>45</sup>

Annadurai's stand on the 'Language Issue' sparked off violent Anti-Hindi agitations in 1965. From then onwards the DMK utilised the plight of the Congress on several fronts to its advantage. Rajaji's leadership, the tactics of sharing the splitting of the votes by forging an alliance of

various parties, the emergence of backward and other social classes, the solid support of the youth and students to the DMK, etc., placed the DMK in a vantage point. Anna-durai's promise of "a measure of rice for a rupee" (Padi Arisi Thittam) captivated the poor masses who were worst affected by spiralling prices.

Thus when students, labourers, agriculturists and middle classes were all disenchanted with Congress and slowly turning to the DMK, the Fourth General Elections took place in 1967. The DMK secured 128 seats in a House of 234 representing an absolute majority and confidence of the people. The party won all the 25 seats it contested for the Parliament. Thus born in 1949, the DMK as a political party attained maturity in a period of 18 years under the able leadership of Anna, "the elder brother". The alliance forged by the DMK had got 48.6% votes as against Congress which secured 41.2%.<sup>46</sup> Thus Tamil Nadu has shown the way not only to regional politics but also to politics of alliances for the first time in India.

The regional parties in Tamil Nadu began the experiment of building up primordialist political identity in the 1910's. In that process, they slowly absorbed the specific interests of the Tamils one after another. The assimilation process was so slow that it presented a picture of natural growth and organic evolution.

The Justice Party was both the cause and result of the politicization of castes in Tamil Nadu. The avowed purpose of that party was not merely to seek educational and employment opportunities from the government but also to bring about cohesion and reforms in non-Brahmin communities. The Self-respect Movement concentrated on this second aspect very much. The Dravidar Kazhagam continued in the direction of social reforms through politicization of Castes. For the DMK, Caste politicization meant both social reforms and political development.<sup>47</sup>

In his socio-political scheme, EVR did not give much importance to the cultural pride of the Tamils. He con-

sidered Tamil to be the language of barbarians. His opposition to Hindi was born out of the conviction of the danger that Hindi would bring to the non-Brahmins. But the DMK had picked up the argument of Tamil vs Hindi as an issue primarily concerning the cultural pride of the Tamils and secondly as a threat to non-Brahmin Welfare. Because of this attitude, the DMK was able to absorb the We Tamils Party, and Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, and neutralise the Tamil Desiya Katchi.<sup>48</sup>

Again, EVR was the first person to seek class solutions to the problems of the non-Brahmins in the early thirties. But he did not proceed with that argument any further after 1934. The DMK picked up this argument also for two purposes; 1. It would fix an economic policy for the DMK and 2. It would also bring many backward communities of Tamil Nadu in its fold, fusing economic modernization, politicisation of Castes and political development into a single whole.<sup>49</sup>

The DMK on its own was preoccupied with the political development and political stability of Tamil Nadu. Knowing full well the strength of Kamaraj, in administration and electioneering, the DMK converted itself into a purposeful opposition which is described by Walch as the 'Governing opposition'.<sup>50</sup> The DMK used parliamentary forums and platforms with more restraint and received training in constitutional opposition before achieving power.

Thus by 1967 the DMK had become the symbol of all the specific interests of the Tamils. At the same time it also showed that there is no essential difference between primordial sentiments and territorial loyalty.<sup>51</sup> The result is that it was bringing about a balance between regionalist aspirations and national targets.

The DMK emerged out of DK on the question of Social vs Political activity of the DK. When DMK plunged into politics, it was developed by people who had connections with mass media like cinema and drama as also by career politicians. Naturally the personalities of mass media

had more glamour and leverage inside DMK. This was resented by the career politicians. The rift between these two sections assumed sizable dimensions by 1972. M. G. Ramachandran, who was the cause and result of fusion between the cinema and the DMK, spearheaded a faction and charged that the DMK had become corrupt after Annadurai's death and that Anna's ideals were forgotten by the people in power. Karunanidhi as Party President reacted to this charge sharply by expelling MGR from the DMK. Thereafter MGR founded his party the 'Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' on 18.10.1972. The party was renamed the 'All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' on 12.9.1976. The party contested the sixth general elections to the Lok Sabha in 1977. It won 18 out of the 20 seats it contested. In the same year, in the elections to the Legislative Assembly, the party obtained 126 seats out of 234 seats and obtained power. However the first ministry by MGR was dismissed by the Central Government on 18.2.1980. In the seventh general elections to the Assembly in 1980, the AIADMK had retained power by winning 130 seats out of 234 seats in the Assembly. Further in the 1984 Eighth General Elections also the AIADMK continued its winning streak by capturing 133 out of 234 Assembly seats.

#### *Section IV: Conclusion*

If it is possible to build up political identities in a society in two important ways — primordial and instrumentalist — both these methodologies were present in the socio-political processes of the Tamils. The regional political forces had paid specific attention to the idiosyncracies of the Tamils, and had united among themselves by 1967. Their primordial attention to the introspections of the Tamils — economic modernization, social reforms, cultural pride and political stability (in that order) — had emotio-

nally moved the Tamils and hence the people did not hesitate to legitimatise the DMK.

On the other hand, the Congress did not concern itself with questions other than economic prosperity. Even there the Congress did not posit any specific ideology to work through. The result was that the instrumentalist Congress was rejected by the people at the first opportunity itself. In the competition for power in Tamil Nadu, if Congress was rejected by the people, it can safely be said that other national parties had rejected themselves.

However in the 1970s a political vacuum was fast spreading in Tamil Nadu. The death of C. Rajagopalachari had left both the conservative Brahmins and the nationalist minded Brahmins in the political wilderness. The death of EVR in 1974, had paralysed the enthusiastic non-Brahmins who were striving for more and more social reforms. The death of K. Kamaraj in 1976 closed the option of a fresh opening of the nationalist programmes. The situation was getting defocussed and articulated interests were fast disintegrating.

Using this political vacuum, the DMK organization could have entrenched itself well amidst power for a period equal at least to the rule of the Congress. But factions within the DMK did not allow it to be.

On the contest between primordial and instrumentalist experiments, the post-1967 period had shown unequivocally that in a plural society no methodology was unwelcome. The success or failure of a political identity had entirely depended on the persons who had operated the system. If the leaders had gone way-ward, the people had ridiculed the leadership and in the process, began to condemn the methodology itself. If the leaders were sensitive to the problems, they were praised and legitimised and in due course the methodology itself was eulogised.



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## THE EMERGENCE OF THE AIADMK

As a goal-directed system, a party brings together individuals and social groups, weaving and integrating them into the framework of its organization in a bid to transform social forces into political power. The pre-eminent goal of the party is the winning of political power with such other concomitant functions as mobilization of the public for participation, interest articulation and interest aggregation, and recruitment of personnel for various political roles in the party and the polity.<sup>1</sup>

However, beyond this broad consensus on the goal of winning governmental power, there are usually considerable differences of opinion and clash of interests among the individuals and social groups that opt to work under the common label of a party. The party must aggregate and reconcile the multiple interests competing within its organizational framework in such a manner as to evolve and maintain a jointly advantageous relationship among them on the one hand, and the party as a corporate group, on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Given this unique feature as an organization, intra-party conflicts make their appearance in almost all parties with varying degrees of intensity. When intra-party conflicts rigidify, factions begin to appear. These subgroups emerge either for a limited duration of an electoral or policy controversy or are endowed with impressive continuity. The controversies of the first type are digested by the party as minor skirmishes. But factions with impressive continuity become troublesome, threatening the very existence of the parent party itself.<sup>3</sup>

The emergence of the AIADMK is the outcome of factional quarrels within the DMK. In illustrating this, section I of this chapter narrates the factional activities inside the DMK. Section II brings out the aims, activities and political resources of MGR, the founder of the AIADMK. Section III summarises the events that had led to the stabilization of the AIADMK and section IV offers some conclusions.

### *Section I: Factionalism Inside the DMK:*

From its establishment in 1949 to 1955 Annadurai was the General Secretary of the DMK. However he wanted to avoid the kind of 'Totalitarianism' that supposedly characterized the DK and he sought to implement rotation of leadership in 1955. Hence E. V. K. Sampath and M. Karunanidhi actively sought the general secretaryship. To avoid confrontation, V. R. Nedunchezian was chosen as a compromise candidate. Although Nedunchezian was chosen General Secretary, Sampath was considered by many to be the party's second in command.<sup>4</sup>

Karunanidhi founded the party paper *Murasoli* in 1954 and he organised the news agents and villagers from the pragmatic perspective of mutual help. He distributed the benefits of newspaper and films in such a manner that he earned the loyalty of a sizable section of the party at the grassroots of taluk and district levels and in the General Council. The organisation of the Sampath faction did not extend much below the General Council and top leadership.

Prior to his exit from the DMK in 1961, Sampath levelled charges against the leadership of the DMK on three important issues: 1. He argued that non-political personalities (Cinema actors and dramatists) played too important a role in party affairs. He also felt that the degree of DMK entanglement with the film industry militated against the development of the party. 2. Sampath wanted less involvement in cultural activities by the DMK. He wanted the party to

turn to political activities, to perfect and bureaucratised itself like the Congress. 3. Sampath was not much convinced about the demand for Dravidanadu in 1961. Annadurai appreciated the emotional and symbolic importance of Dravida Nadu and the necessity of tactfully handling its abandonment.<sup>5</sup>

The launching of the new Tamil Nationalist Party by Sampath settled several problems. The DMK did not face any factional problems until its victory in 1967. However, intense factionalism shook the party to its core in the wake of Annadurai's serious illness in his second year of Chief Ministership. This time Nedunchezian, Karunanidhi and Mathiazhagan contended for the Chief Ministership.<sup>6</sup>

Nedunchezian was frustrated in 1967 by Annadurai's acceptance of Chief Ministership and therefore he competed with Karunanidhi. After Annadurai's death, he wanted to become the Chief Minister on the strength of his seniority in the party and his having served as the General Secretary. Another source of Nedunchezian's prestige was his post graduate degree in Tamil Literature and reputation as a good Tamil Speaker. Karunanidhi's claims for Chief Ministership was based on his ability to build up the party machinery, business like efficiency in government, and electioneering skills. Mathiazhagan staked his claim on the basis of his services as the Treasurer of the party. However Mathiazhagan lost his chance by opposing Karunanidhi's plan of giving up ministerships in order to concentrate on party work and the erection of a statue for Karunanidhi in Madras. After Annadurai's death, Mathiazhagan's faction remained too weak to bring about his Chief Ministership. Mathiazhagan was persuaded to go along with Karunanidhi after the strength of the latter was made known. Later Mathiazhagan accepted a Ministership in Karunanidhi's Cabinet. Like Sampath's, Nedunchezian's faction did not reach the grass root level and was limited to a few of the top leadership. But Karunanidhi consolidated his faction and managed to secure the support of M. G. Ramachandran,

Periar E. V. Ramasamy, S. B. Adithan, and G. D. Naidu. Thus succession from Annadurai to Karunanidhi was passed on with minimal public conflict. Though Nedunchezian refused initially to serve in the cabinet, even after Karunanidhi's Public appeal, he returned to it after six months.

As early as the 1960's Karunanidhi, Nedunchezian, Ambazhagan and other leaders (except Annadurai) found it very difficult to share public platforms with M.G. Ramachandran. Enthusiastic audiences cheered M.G. Ramachandran and almost ignored the rest. Seemingly there was a growing concern inside DMK over the popularity and strength of M.G. Ramachandran and his MGR Manrams (Politico-cultural organizations) at the grass-roots level which promoted the political base of the DMK and the charisma of MGR.<sup>7</sup>

After Karunanidhi's ascendancy to the Chief Minister-ship, the pattern of decision-making within the DMK changed rapidly.<sup>8</sup> Unlike Annadurai, who could make important policy decisions and have them accepted without any question, Karunanidhi was the leader of the most important faction, rather than a leader above factions. He therefore had to accommodate and control other factions. The acquiescence of Nedunchezian and his return to the Cabinet, and Mathiazhagan's acceptance of the office of the Speaker and the existence of a firm majority obtained after the 1971 General Elections had made Karunanidhi think that the time was ripe to make cautious attempts to curb non-political influences inside the party which was perceived as a growing menace. To purge these, Karunanidhi sought to strengthen the party through large scale fund raising and membership drives. Thus the issue of the influence of non-political personalities versus organization returned to the party, a decade after EVK Sampath had voiced his apprehension.

Factionalism inside the DMK had grave consequences on several fronts. The DMK began to neglect ideological



issues. To be successful, every ideology must be brought upto date according to the changes in circumstances. Karunanidhi failed to understand the implications of this exercise. He devoted his entire time in consolidating his position in the party.<sup>9</sup>

Karunanidhi increased the reservation (for backward communities in education and Government jobs) from 25 percent to 33 percent. He tried to popularise the Tamil script reform advocated by EVR, and began to use Tamil as the official language in Administration and Courts. He devised a few schemes to ameliorate the physical conditions of the poor. And in trying to do all these, he concentrated on raising and popularising slogans of state autonomy. But these measures were clearly inadequate for the groups and interests for which the DMK stood. The 8 percent increase in reservations was not much considering the fact that population and unemployment were too high and all such benefits were reaped only by the higher echelons of the backward communities. Policies of language development and helping the poor were only ad hoc and there was no systematic planning at all despite the fact that a State Planning Commission was constituted during Karunanidhi's administration. On the organisational front, several forces which contributed to the might of the DMK began to be disenchanted with the policies of the DMK. Students were slowly alienating because of the excessive insistence on Tamil Medium (and the attempt to close English Medium sections). Labour became weary of the pro-capital policies of the DMK. Ever since the 'Land grab Movement' in 1971, the peasants and agricultural labourers also found it difficult to get on with the DMK. The Scheduled Castes, spearheaded by Mrs. Satyavani Muthu, showed their dissatisfaction from 1970 onwards. Likewise, most of the leaders of the DMK began to concern themselves with strengthening their position, office or status. They were busy organizing factions, or maintaining them. The cumulative effect of all these was the desertion of the ideal of

the DMK and the people.<sup>10</sup>

Factionalism had its first decisive consequence in the Government. It led to the expansion of the cabinet in February 1969, removal of a few in 1970, retention of the most of ministers in the Cabinet formed after 1971 General elections and further expansion in 1974.<sup>11</sup> The expansion, retention, or removal of ministers were exercises in the controlling or persuasion of warring factions inside the DMK. Likewise factionalism had contributed to the destruction of party precedents and distribution of party posts. A notable example as to how the party became the centre of factional activity was the manner in which Nedunchezian and Karunanidhi had apportioned between themselves the offices of General Secretary and President of the party respectively. This issue gained in importance because Annadurai had always kept the presidency of the DMK vacant as a mark of respect for EVR and the DMK's commitment to the principles of the DK.<sup>12</sup>

Factionalism had its ugly overtones in administration also. Corruption and nepotism in services were employed as convenient tools to gratify the desires of the competing groups. Meddling with the administration had provoked the wrath of government servants and it became necessary to quench their desires periodically. Induction of undesirable and incompetent people into the services caused the sagging of morale of the civil services finally resulting in inefficiency.<sup>13</sup>

Thus factionalism inside the DMK resulted in the quarrels of ministers in the cabinet, tampering with party norms, loss of efficiency in administration and the alienation of the various forces supporting the principles of the DMK. Karunanidhi became the prisoner of the circumstances which factionalism had generated.

### *Section II: MGR and DMK*

Maruthur Gopalan Ramachandran (MGR) was born in

Kandy, one of the beautiful cities in Sri Lanka, on 17.1.1917 as the fifth child of the family.<sup>14</sup> His father, Gopalan had served as a Magistrate in several places in Kerala before quitting his job as a gesture of remonstrance to the pressures for writing a favourable judgement. But he could not sustain the hardships of the family and hence migrated to Sri Lanka to become the Principal of the Law College in Kandy. In Sri Lanka Gopalan died in 1919, forcing his wife Satyabhama to return to Kumbakonam immediately. Soon Kamakshi the eldest child of the family, also died in her eleventh year.

Poverty and the problems of the family did not allow MGR and his elder brother M. G. Chakrapani to continue their studies beyond the third class at Anayadi School in Kumbakonam. In order to contribute to the support of the family, the brothers joined Sachidanandam pillai's Madurai Original Boy's Dramatic Company on a salary of Rs.5/-per mensem. Amidst rivalry, jealousy and partiality in the company, MGR learnt several lessons in acting from Kali N. Rathnam, M. K. Radha, M. R. Radha and P. U. Chinappa.

In the thirties, the cinema was gaining popularity and stage actors were fast turning into film stars. For the young aspirants it was a new hope, a whole new world to conquer. MGR decided to quit the Madurai Original Boy's company and act in films. So, MGR along with his brother proceeded to Madras and waited for his chance to act in films. He first acted as a police-inspector in the film 'Sathi Leelavathy' in 1934.<sup>15</sup> But thereafter he had to struggle for thirteen years even to obtain minor roles in films. The struggle grew so wearisome that, he began to think about his enrollment in the army. However his contract in 1947 to act in the film 'Rajakumari' marked a sudden turning point in his life.<sup>16</sup> That film also marked the transition of MGR's acting from mythological to historical films. To equip himself for such historical roles, MGR began to learn fencing, riding, and wrestling.

MGR began to interest himself in politics after he started acting films in 1934, because the film world was a major instrument by which the national spirit was made to reach the masses by the Indian National Congress. He began to study the current social and political problems and found himself irresistably drawn towards the Gandhian movement. MGR was a Congress man till 1953, despite his mother's reluctance.<sup>17</sup>

(However, MGR's connections with N. S. Krishnan introduced him to the ideology of the Dravidian Movement and made him realize the truths behind the revolutionary thought of EVR.<sup>18</sup> Further, sometime during the end of 1946, MGR met Annadurai by the efforts of D. V. Narayanasami and soon came under his spell.) Even before meeting him, MGR had read the dramas written by Annadurai and was charmed by their freshness, thematic content and lucidity. Naturally Annadurai and Ramachandran had become great friends.<sup>19</sup> Karunanidhi and MGR had been colleagues in films. Karunanidhi was Assistant dialogue writer for the very first film in which MGR played the leading role - "Rajakumari". The two grew together in the film world offering mutual help. It was at the instance of MGR that Karunanidhi was made a full-fledged dialogue writer for the picture - "Marudhanattu Ilavarasi" (The Princess of Marudha country), which was produced in 1950. Because of these influences MGR joined the DMK in 1953.<sup>20</sup>

Around this time Annadurai and Karunanidhi had planned to propagate the goals of the DMK through films instead of depending only on the conventional media like the platforms, press and dramas. They felt that cinema could reach the masses more easily than the conventional media. According to this decision MGR began to act in movies which depicted the foolishness of superstitions, caste system, ritualism etc. Social reforms were the theme of most of these films. Eradication of illiteracy, removal of social evils, fighting against alcoholism have been recurrent themes. In the films MGR proclaimed himself the champion

of Dravidian culture and Tamil Language.<sup>21</sup> Also most of the films portrayed the sufferings of the poor. Thus, from 1953 onwards MGR and the DMK had become mutual beneficiaries.

MGR had not only been an actor. He had also produced and directed some films with technical excellence. In 1959, he directed his film "Nadodi Mannan", which became an immediate box-office hit.<sup>22</sup> The film is the Tamil version of the well known "Prisoner of Zenda". Subsequently many such films were made. In 1961, the release of the film 'Thirudathe' (Do not steal) proved to be another box-office hit, which set the trend for an ideal formula — romance, bravery and sense of justice of the hero, who wins ultimately his purpose in life as well as his love — for all other films of MGR.

As a result, his popularity with the masses became legendary. Tamil speaking people all over the world greatly admired him for his qualities of head and heart. Today, he is ardently spoken of as 'Makkal Thilagam' (a title bestowed by Annadurai which means 'ornament of the people'), 'Puratchi Nadigar' (a title conferred by Karunanidhi, which means 'Revolutionary Actor'), 'Ponmana Chemmal' (a title given by the Cine Actors' Association which means 'A Noble man with a Golden Heart') and 'Puratchi Thalaivar' (Revolutionary leader) etc. MGR was also a recipient of the 'Bharat' award in 1971 which was instituted by the Government of India to honour the best actor of the year.<sup>23</sup> From 1945 MGR was performing four important roles for the DMK. He was the propagator of the DMK ideals. The lyrics, dialogues, and histrionics in MGR's films were specifically geared to the propagation of the policies of the DMK. More often than that, MGR's films symbolise the Congress as a dictator and eroded the affection and faith between the Congress leaders and the people. Also MGR had been the backbone of the DMK's financial strength, especially in its adverse days. He had also organized well over 20,000 manrams (Fan Clubs with politico-cultural purposes) in his

name all over Tamil Nadu, which became centres of unity and activity for the rank and file of the DMK. Using his oratorical skills MGR toured the state and spoke to the people during electioneering in the 1957 and 1962 Assembly Elections and during 1959 Madras Corporation Elections. Annadurai used to applaud MGR for his electioneering efforts thus: "The very sight of MGR's face will make lakhs of people cast their votes for the DMK. Therefore MGR's services to the party is essential."<sup>24</sup> On another occasion, Annadurai said: "If MGR shows his face, DMK would get 40,000 votes and if he utters a word 4 lakhs."<sup>25</sup>

However, MGR did not contest in the 1957 and 1962 elections to the Assembly. It was because Annadurai, a shrewd manager of party affairs, did not want any trouble in the growing party on the question of the film world versus the organizational hierarchy of the DMK. Though Annadurai had kept MGR out of party politics for a while, he felt the necessity of rewarding MGR for his services. He chose MGR to become the member of the Legislative Council in 1962. But this reward was resented by several leaders of the DMK and therefore a heart-broken Annadurai requested MGR to resign his membership of the Legislative Council. MGR did accordingly but the step was misconstrued by the fans. There were several agitations all over Tamil Nadu and MGR's action was interpreted as his first step in joining the Congress. To dispel such rumours MGR, again at the request of Annadurai, clarified that he would not even think of leaving his parent organization, the DMK and that his resignation was only to prove that he was not enamoured of offices and rewards.<sup>26</sup> In 1965, MGR took a leading part in the anti-Hindi agitation.

On the eve of the Fourth General Elections in February 1967 MGR was shot at close range by M. R. Radha. This prevented MGR from participating in the election campaign. He was confined to bed for a long time. Though MGR did not campaign in his Parangimalai Constituency,

he was elected to the Legislative Assembly with a convincing margin of votes. MGR had obtained 54,106 votes over his Congress rival T. L. Raghupathy who had obtained 26,432 votes.<sup>27</sup>

In the succession struggle that erupted after Anna-durai's demise in February 1969, MGR played an instrumental role in depositing power in the hands of Karunanidhi. MGR convinced Mathiazhagan about the latter's inability to become the Chief Minister. He also pointed out how Nedunchezhiyan, though the chosen heir of Anna-durai, would become a weak man and a rubber stamp.<sup>28</sup>

Again in the 1971 General Elections MGR did his usual role in electioneering and the DMK was returned to power with two-thirds majority. By winning the same Parangimalai Constituency, MGR had retained his membership in the Legislative Assembly. This time MGR had sizable votes of 65,405 and his rival T. L. Ragupathy of Congress (O) obtained 40,774 votes.<sup>29</sup>

During his long association with the DMK, MGR had emerged from poverty to become a wealthy movie star. At the same time he had also benefitted the DMK enormously. MGR and the DMK were indispensable to each other. There was a time when the DMK's six lakh membership, included three lakhs of those who were members of MGR manrams. That meant that MGR had become a political figure gradually in his own right.<sup>30</sup>

### *Section III: The Founding of the AIADMK*

The exact reasons contributing to the decline of friendship between Karunanidhi and Ramachandran are yet to be publicly made known. An analysis of the trend reports appearing during the time of the split suggests that there were as many as five important issues which soured the relationship between the two.

If one is to believe Kuldip Nayar, the Statesman's political analyst who has made a name for himself as a journa-

list who gives the inside story, "the tension in the DMK began when MGR asked for his rightful place in the state cabinet after the 1971 Parliamentary and Assembly polls. Aware of the fact that he was getting no younger, and not even he could continue a film career much longer, MGR wanted an increasing role in politics. By this time MGR had also realised his potential. After all he had, with his personal charisma, helped with all his might to win two elections."<sup>31</sup> The DMK leadership had never expected such a demand from MGR. What enraged MGR was the simple truth that the DMK had not seriously reckoned MGR to be a political force in his own right.

Although apparently unrelated to intraparty conflicts, the issue of prohibition is also mentioned as a possible bone of contention between Karunanidhi and MGR. Prohibition had existed in Tamil Nadu for thirty three years when the DMK government decided to scrap it in its efforts to mobilise additional funds for developmental activities. Abolishing prohibition was complicated by the adamant opposition of Kamaraj, by the repeated support the late C.N. Annadurai had given to prohibition and by the opposition of the two electoral partners of the DMK—the Muslim League and the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam. Inside the DMK General Council, MGR had opposed the lifting of the dry law. It is widely believed that Ramachandran's opposition stemmed from his fear that the poor and the lower middle class, who spend their limited entertainment funds on movies, might substitute liquor for films.<sup>32</sup>

Not satisfied with the victory obtained on the issue of prohibition, it is alleged that Karunanidhi had also sought to weaken MGR's position within the cinema industry by trying to launch his son, M.K. Muthu as a new star and project him as another MGR. In this endeavour Karunanidhi went to the extent of taking up his old job and wrote the script for Muthu's film. In fact Muthu had copied all the mannerisms of MGR including the hair style. Karunanidhi had also arranged for the sprouting up of Muthu



Rasigar Manrams. Even before Muthu's film was released in many places, he tried to convert the MGR manrams into Muthu manrams. When MGR protested against such moves, Karunanidhi, in a clever move, made an appeal to dissolve all Muthu manrams. The point was that if his son's fan clubs were dissolved the next step would be to scrap the manrams of MGR too. Also Karunanidhi allegedly supported Shivaji Ganesan (another movie star belonging to the Congress) in certain cinema ventures.<sup>33</sup>

The tussle between Karunanidhi and Ramachandran was also linked to the financial difficulty experienced by MGR and Karunandhi's refusal to help him. MGR's film 'Ulagam Sutrum Valiban' (The Youth who travelled around the world) made him borrow a great deal of money. Likewise MGR's income-tax troubles had also figured in the political controversy. Ramachandran owed the government Rs.18 lakhs in arrears in 1972. The Income Tax Department moved for the attachment of his property and MGR filed a writ petition in the Madras High Court for a stay. But before long he withdrew the case. Karunandhi asked: "Why did he withdraw his petition? Is it not obvious that some kind of compromise or understanding has been arrived at with Congress (R)? Why did MGR meet Shankar Dayal Sharma at Bangalore and why did MGR have mysterious talks with Mrs. Gandhi herself in Kashmir? What makes MGR have any truck with Mohan Kumara Mangalam and C. Subramaniam?"<sup>34</sup>

Another bone of contention between Karunanidhi and Ramachandran centered around the role of the treasurer in the party.<sup>35</sup> As the treasurer of the DMK, MGR had striven to perform his duties without being a 'yes' man to the 'dictates' of the party. He wanted proper accounting of the huge income of the party and wanted also to know for his personal knowledge, the sources of such income. He did not want to make disbursements in the name of the party without proper entries in income and expenditure. He had known, said MGR, instances of pay-

ments made to partymen during the 1971 elections without any guidelines and proper authorisation. What MGR asked for was the removal of certain money-bag's influence over the party and for the proper maintenance of party finances which had grown enormously and had been invested in the purchase of huge real estates. Because of his insistence on accounts, MGR was kept in the dark about the amount collected at the Madurai party conference in 1972. MGR felt that the amount would be around Rs.5 lakhs but Karunanidhi said that the collection was just rupees one lakh. Feeling negligence, MGR had called for the arrest of dictatorial trends and personality cults in the party in his Pongal Message on January 14, 1972.

Whatever be the reasons for the rift, the time had arrived for an overt confrontation between the organizational forces headed by Karunanidhi and the forces of non-political personalities symbolised by MGR. The clash had ideological, organizational and personality dimensions all rolled into one. Since the stunning 1971 DMK victory, inflation had increased, power shortages had affected the industry and employment, and there had been drought and poor harvest. Popular discontent was slowly simmering. But MGR foresaw the futility of ideological discussions with the DMK. He wanted to focus the public attention on something concrete and visible. And he rightly perceived and attacked the Karunanidhi faction's Achilles' heel — *corruption*.

On October 8, 1972, MGR, while addressing a meeting celebrating the late C.N. Annadurai's sixty fourth birth anniversary, demanded that all DMK town, taluk and district secretaries disclose their financial assets. He wanted not only DMK ministers and members of the Legislative Assembly to disclose their assets but also that of their relatives. He rhetorically thundered, "People were eager to know how bungalows and cars came to them after the DMK came to power."<sup>36</sup> He added that he was placing the view which was generally held by the public before the DMK. At that meeting, MGR also criticized the DMK

Government for lifting prohibition and said that if his views were not given due thought at the upcoming meeting of the DMK General Council, he would not hesitate to go to the public to gain their support for his demand.

MGR's statements were clearly a transgression of party discipline, violation of the party's policy of democratic centralism, and a direct challenge to Karunanidhi. Immediately 12 district secretaries of the party and 8 ministers, who were members of the Executive Committee, assembled in the State Guest House at Madras on 9.10.1972 and resolved for the suspension of MGR in the interest of party discipline and party ideals.<sup>37</sup>

The resolution was submitted to the General Secretary V.R. Nedunchezian and the President, M. Karunanidhi. Nedunchezian issued a show cause notice on 11.10.1972 to Ramachandran to account for his anti-party activities failing which he should face expulsion. Meanwhile Nedunchezian also suspended MGR from all party posts and even from the primary membership of the DMK. This move was intended to stop MGR from attending the General Council Meeting on October 12-14, 1972. But when people heard this momentous decision, crowds of MGR fans ran through city streets attacking DMK flags and pictures of Karunanidhi. Violent incidents, agitations and protests throughout Tamil Nadu had paralysed the DMK administration for well over a fortnight.<sup>38</sup> MGR also refused to render an apology. He also did not concede to EVR's advise to offer some sort of an apology. The mediatory talks of K. Manoharan and Mrs. Satyavani Muthu also failed.<sup>39</sup> Unmoved by the mass emotional display over the party executive action, when the full General Council met on 13.10.1972, 277 of 303 members in attendance approved the suspension and adopted a resolution prohibiting actions to secure a compromise and reconciliation.<sup>40</sup> The General Council also resolved to affiliate all manrams, to the local party units, as a solution to end the manram menace.<sup>41</sup>

MGR thanked the people of Tamil Nadu on 15.10.1972

for their spontaneous reaction to support him and described the incidents in Tamil Nadu as expressions of the democratic spirit.<sup>43</sup> On October 15, 1972 MGR announced his decision to form a new political party in deference to the wishes of his supporters and members of the 20,000 rasigar manrams.<sup>43</sup>

However many important leaders of the DMK including Mathiazhagan, defied the official leadership of the DMK to support MGR.<sup>44</sup> A meeting of these leaders announced on 17.10.1972 that they would integrate themselves with the new party of the MGR.<sup>45</sup> On 18.10.1972 MGR christened his party as the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.<sup>46</sup> He declared that his party would faithfully follow the principles and policies laid down by the late C.N. Annadurai. The party adopted a flag 4 inches in length 3 inches in breadth, the upper half in red colour and the lower half in black, with an emblem of Annadurai in the middle.<sup>47</sup> By the end of October 1972 the ADMK began to function as a viable political party.

The formation of the new party had an electrifying effect on the masses of Tamil Nadu. On October 23, 1972, Ramachandran was given a public reception by a lakh of people at Kancheepuram.<sup>48</sup> At the meeting MGR disclosed that he was expelled from the party because he asked for the accounts of the party. MGR cut off his relations with the DMK on October 28, 1972 by sending a formal letter of resignation.

#### *Section IV: Conclusion*

The differences which lead to intraparty conflicts and formation of factions may arise in a variety of ways. Factions may arise over ideological, organizational and personality tussles, and may quickly disappear also. But factions become permanent intra-party phenomena if they seek to control power within the party. In such an eventuality factions possess: (1) a 'cognitive element', which is an

awareness of some fundamental differences between one group and another (2) a certain degree of consultation among the members of a faction through formal and informal procedures and (3) the existence of the faction for a considerable time.<sup>49</sup> All these characteristics were present in the factional quarrels of the DMK. Especially the question of the influence of non-political personalities (cinematic) versus the organization of the party existed for a long time.

When EVK Sampath raised this issue for the first time, in 1961, he unwittingly intermixed this problem with the ideological problem of Dravida Nadu and had weakened the force of this argument. Again Sampath's was a minor faction (though headed by the number two man in the party), challenging the rest of the leadership. In the succession struggle of 1969 a plurality of factions had surfaced first, but the faction which had first acknowledged the influences of the cinema in the DMK became immediately strong and victorious. Then the resolution among the contending factions was a compromising acknowledgement to the forces behind the mass media. But in the early seventies factions emerged straightaway on the question of non-political personalities versus organization.

In pragmatic political parties, individuals join for a variety of motives. Reducing these motives to a more generic two-fold classification in terms of 'program-incentives' and 'status' incentives, James L. Payne suggests that members with a mind for program-incentives do not deviate and defect from a party; those who aspire for status incentives, especially if they happen to possess political resources, easily generate a faction and migrate. Deviant leaders searching for status symbols become exceptionally successful when: (1) there is no external pressure from acute inter-party competition; (2) the constituency permits deviance of its representative; (3) he is an important member of the party; (4) he had done signal service to the party in the past; (5) he has political resources like charisma, economic affluence, and high social and political status outside the party, and (6) he enjoys the

support of a sizable section of the party membership.<sup>50</sup>

M. G. Ramachandran, who was the cause and result of the fusion between films and DMK, had possessed all these requirements in the early seventies and raised the banner of revolt against the DMK organization and was successful.

It is true that factions disrupt ideological, organizational, leadership and programmatic energies of a party. But when the factions stabilize themselves (either in the parent party or outside) they begin to create new and spirited energy for fresh ideologies, organization, leadership and programmes. The AIADMK under the leadership of M. G. Ramachandran had also done likewise and began to formulate tenets of 'Annaism.'

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## IDEOLOGY

An ideology is a belief system which tries to undo the inequality in a society.<sup>1</sup> Normally ideologies emanate between any two reference groups, wherein one group enjoys the social, economic and political benefits of the society more than its contribution to the welfare of the society; and the other group feels deprived of the same benefits, while contributing to the welfare of the society much more. In due course, either a charismatic leader or a powerful organization espouses the ideological cause of the oppressed.

While upholding the cause of the oppressed, a leader looks into history to ascertain the glorious past of the oppressed. Next he explains the manner in which inequality has appeared in the society and elaborates the areas in which much suffering exists at the present. Then the leader goes on to propose certain solution to end the inequalities in future. This interpretation of inequality in a society in terms of the past and the present as well as the remedial future course of action is popularly known as an 'ism', either after the name of the leader, or after the name of the group, or in general after the economic standpoint of the leadership.<sup>2</sup>

However the process of formation of an ideology is hazardous. Essentially it crosses the four stages of grounding<sup>3</sup> assimilation, introspection and purging, and maturation. A leader perceives the nature of inequality in a society and proposes certain solutions theoretically at the 'grounding level. Here he may take recourse to the ideas of some of predecessors. He assimilates the viewpoints of others while trying to organize. Subsequently, a leader adds or subtracts

in a moment of introspection and purges such of those opinions which are necessary for practical action. Finally he launches the crusade, which is maturation.

While trying to evolve an ideology, a leader must be cautious about the following matters:

1. He must assess thoroughly both the privileged and the oppressed and the exact nature and extent of suppression.
2. He must see that the ideology corresponds to social needs.
3. He should check himself whether the substance of the ideology is cohesive, and
4. He should allow a built-in flexibility in the ideology so that it may be transformed by others according to the needs of changing times.

If these are taken note of, then an ideology becomes immensely successful.<sup>4</sup>

Annaism as an ideology is a fruit of the experience of a long-drawn-out process, both at the theoretical and operative levels. It has crossed all the four stages of an ideology while trying to respond to the problems of the Tamils. While analysing the ideology of Annaism, Section I of this Chapter makes an assessment of the views of C. N. Annadurai on the socio-political conditions of Tamil Nadu. Section II outlines the contributions made by M. G. Ramachandran in supplementing the principles of Annadurai to the changing times. Section III offers important conclusions there of.

### *Section I: The Socio-Political Ideas of C.N. Annadurai*

It is a controversial point whether CNA was a political philosopher at all. But there is no denying the fact that had he died before achieving power in Tamil Nadu, he would have been known solely as a political organiser, great orator, dramatist and a Tamil scholar. In the history of Tamil Nadu he would have found only a small place.

There is no doubt that the full fruits of CNA's genius were not gathered till the closing years of his life, yet looking back with hindsight it is possible to see that he contributed something solid to socio-political speculation.

Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai was born on 15.09.1909 to poor parents.<sup>5</sup> His maternal aunt Rajamani Ammaiyar brought him up. CNA had his schooling in Pachaiyappa's High School, Kancheepuram. After his schooling he worked as a clerk in the Municipal office at Kancheepuram for some months before entering Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, in 1928. CNA worked hard and passed his intermediate examination with a First Class. He proceeded to study the Honours Course in Economics with the help of some philanthropists and passed the examination in 1932. Meanwhile in 1929, he was married to Rani Ammaiyar according to Hindu tradition and customs.

During his college days, CNA wrote and spoke in an exemplary manner and trained himself in the communication of the spoken and the written word. During this period he also read widely, in English, and in Tamil. After his college days, he worked as an English teacher for nearly a year in Govindappa Naicker High School, one of the affiliated institutions of the Pachaiyappa's Charities Fund.

In 1935 before the publication of the Report of the Simon Commission, Thiruvachagammi K. M. Balasubramaniam took CNA to the Rajah of Bobbili, the then leader of the Justice Party and the first Minister of the Madras Presidency. At the end of the conversation, CNA became a member of the Justice Party. In the same year, CNA attended the Sengundhar Youth Conference held at Tiruppur and he met Periyar E.V. Ramasamy there for the first time to be captivated by the ideals of EVR. Persuaded and encouraged by his friends, CNA contested a seat in the Madras City Corporation against a Congress candidate in 1935 and was promptly defeated. This was the beginning of CNA's political career. He participated in the 1938 anti-Hindi agitation organised by EVR. From

1939 to 1944 his main work was to strengthen the Justice Party by attracting public spirited youth to the party. During this period CNA edited *Justice*, *Bala Bharathi*, *Nava Yuvan*, *Viduthalai* and *Kudi Arasu* and was increasingly drifting towards EVR. Therefore, he assisted EVR in a big way in the formation of the Dravidar Kazhagam in 1944.

CNA founded the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) on 17.9.1949 following his differences with EVR on several issues. From 1949 to 1957 the DMK served the people only as a social organization. CNA worked hard to make his party develop deep roots in Tamil Nadu and it was during this period he founded and edited dailies like *Dravida Nadu*, *Malai Mani*, *Nam Nadu*, *Kanchi*, *Home Rule* and *Home land*. CNA successfully agitated against the Congress government in 1953 and was vehement against Rajaji's *Kula Kalvi Thittam*.

CNA led the DMK to participate in parliamentary elections in 1957 and began to achieve victories gradually in successive general elections. He announced the abandonment of the principle of Dravida Nadu and separatism on 23.10.63. His anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 had a great impact on the masses. Finally the DMK won power in the 1967 elections, thus setting the record of being the first ever regional party to obtain power in India. After a brief period of Chief Ministership for about two years, CNA passed away on 3.2.1969.

CNA's political career between 1935 to 1949 may be treated as the 'Grounding' period. From 1949 to 1957 he passed the stage of 'Assimilation'. The spell between 1957 and 1963 is a period of 'Introspection and Purge' for him. Since 1964, CNA acted with all 'Maturation'.

As a reflection on the socio-political ills of Tamil Nadu, Annaism has been looked at from four different perspectives.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes it is considered as an adaptation and revision of the ideas of EVR. The view that CNA simply collected some of the ideas which would do some good to Tamil Society and

presented them in the form of an ideology, also exists. The opinion that Annaism is nothing but a set of slogans which were designed to promote the political opportunism of CNA rears its head every now and then. Refuting these three versions, Annaism is held to be a consistent ideology in itself, and this school of thought is now gaining currency more and more.

The different phases of CNA's life may be compared with these different versions of Annaism in a chronological manner. CNA's grounding period was concerned with the revision and adaptation of the ideas of EVR. His assimilative phase is mixed up in the problem of searching for relevant ideas for the wellbeing of Tamil Society. CNA crossed his introspection phase facing all the time acrimony, diatribes and polemics. Finally his maturation brought about a meaningful ideology which is relevant to the cultural specificities of the Tamils. Instead of trying to understand the charismatic personality of CNA and the ideology he had brought about as two distinct and separate issues, an attempt to link the two exercises, easily unfolds the growth of both.

At the outset an important point must be mentioned. It is true that CNA, like Edmund Burke, did not express his socio-political views in a single work or in a single series of works. His ideas are found scattered. They are to be seen in his numerous short stories, dramas, articles, letters, novels, speeches and dialogues for films. Yet his speeches, pamphlets and all other modes of communication were masterpieces of the historical method, hitherto not equalled by any politician of Tamil Nadu. His approach to the study and tackling of all political and social problems of Tamil society was also based on profound common sense and pragmatism.<sup>7</sup>

### *Annaism as an adaptation of EVR's Ideas*

EVR held that the vast sub-continent, in five thousand

years of history, had nourished great civilizations, which were vitalized through cross-cultural contact and characterized by the diversities of cultural and racial differences, caste, religion and language.<sup>8</sup> For him, the major division of India is between the Aryan North and the Dravidian South. The Dravidian people today inhabitate South India and speak the four major languages of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu.

EVR had implicitly accepted the opinions of famous Indologists such as Sir John Marshall, Robert Caldwell, G. U. Pope and the view-points of renowned historians like K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and A. L. Basham, that the original settlers in India were the Dravidians and that the Aryans had pushed them down to the south about 2000 B. C. The Aryan expansion in 1000 B. C. had produced racial and cultural assimilation. Slowly the Aryan socio-economic and political philosophy of 'Varnashrama Dharma' and the all-embracing institution of caste were thrust into the Dravidian life. As centuries rolled by, the institution of caste became a convenient social instrument for the Aryan Brahmin to dominate and dictate the Dravidian non-Brahmins. Now caste became a parasitical institution, bereft of social vision and perpetuating social injustices. The problem became acute in South India, because the Brahmin, often socially and psychologically aloof has retained an exclusiveness of caste orthodoxy. Often combining economic power derived from land ownership with religious authority, the Brahmin further separated himself from the lower castes and increased his control over them. The Moghul rule did not shake the authority of the Brahmin even a bit.

In British India, the Brahmin as the indigenous element of high ascriptive status, was the first to respond to Westernization. The literary tradition of the Brahmin gave him the initial advantage in western education, and with his command over English, he entered the colonial administration, gaining a new criterion of status in addition to the old, together with the new political and economic advantages.

Further the Brahmin's total dominance in the Indian National Congress, to the exclusion of even well-meaning non-Brahmins, widened the gap between the elite and the masses.

Without education, economic power or political influence, the non-Brahmin of Tamil Nadu felt the yoke of oppression and exploitation. This domination by the Brahmin in the Indian National Congress, together with the inability of the non-Brahmins to attain even a moderate influence in the society — in the twenties and thirties of this century — compelled EVR to have a close look at the existing situation. He had found that there were three important issues to be tackled:

1. Which is more malignant in Tamil society: Caste or Class?
2. In which sphere does the remedy lie: Social or Political?
3. How to reach the masses: through Organization or Communication?

While answering these questions, EVR was thoroughly pragmatic. Since there was the ever ready whip of the colonial master to nip in the bud any class argument as was witnessed in the plight of the communists in the late twenties and the early thirties, EVR was forced to deal with the caste question alone. Further he was not much bothered about the class argument. For in his times the caste, and not class, was the dominating factor. Secondly, EVR was totally unconcerned about the political question because that issue was being tackled by the Justicites in a not too unsuccessful way. Therefore he was convinced about the social role he could make. Finally, EVR wanted to foster a sense of belongingness only amidst the rising, educated, non-Brahmin, backward communities. Therefore it was sufficient for him if he could utilize the existing communication facilities to the fullest, viz., the platform and the press. He was not interested in other areas of communication.

To eradicate the Brahmin domination, EVR spelt out

the principles of Dravida Nadu, Self-respect, Rationalism, Socialism, Social Service and a Social Movement. Much later, he boiled down on the practical plane to the very specific theme of 'Anti-Brahminism of whenever and wherever'. Till his death EVR was concerned only with Anti-Brahminism and refused to be drawn into the argument of class, political efforts and new communication procedures.

However the days of C.N. Annadurai were different. Independence, Adult Franchise, Linguistic States and Congress Authoritarianism were offering new chances to the non-Brahmins to outwit the Brahmins at their own game. Moving with the spirit of the times, CNA's socio-political symphony contained the confluent rhythms of caste and class; social and political; and organization and communication.<sup>9</sup> In trying to resolve the question of which is more malignant, the caste or the class, in the Hindu society, CNA, did not conceive of them as a dichotomy, but treated them as forming an integrated whole. He was convinced of the caste tendencies within a class and class tendencies within a caste. Therefore, he wanted an all-out opposition to the menacing dominance of the 'claste'.

Likewise CNA was of the firm view that the issues of social and political must be treated together. He knew that political conditions are rooted in the complexions of the society; but he also held that the present political circumstances reinforce the social animosities, differences and injustices. He felt that a mingling of the social and political would be of immense help in removing the social injustices authoritatively and for constructing a new society legitimately. CNA's second reason to go into the political realm was that the Congress was making its maximum efforts to undo the Dravidian ideology politically and socially.

In the consideration of the 'organization and communication' CNA was the first person to experiment willingly in integrating both the processes. Against the backdrop of colonialism, Justices and Congressmen paid little attention to the communication processes because their reach of



organization and communication were limited to the educated urban elite only. In Independent India there was a compelling need to reach all sections of the masses, which meant that there had to be effective utilization of the existing procedures as well as finding out new ones. Since CNA believed in treating social and political issues together, he was forced to pay equal attention to organization and communication.

Thus, to the cherished ideals of EVR, C.N. Annadurai for his part, added the issues of the concern for the poor, parliamentary game and mass communication efforts. Lenin and his successors have been reputed to have brought Marxism upto date according to the socio-political changes in the Soviet Union. CNA's efforts in bringing up Periyarism to date is in no way inferior to those of the Marxists.

### *Annaism as an Assortment of Ideas*

In his assimilative period between 1949 and 1957, CNA was concerned with giving a proper base to the DMK. Herein there was a dilemma for him. He knew that he could not simply carry on with the ideals of the DK, for that would prove the claims of EVR that the DMK was no way better policywise and nothing but a duplication organizationally. At the same time some of the principles of EVR had to be carried on for the welfare of the non-Brahmins. Likewise some of the policies initiated by the Congress had to be pursued and incorporated in the policies of the DMK, without which reaching the masses would become difficult. Therefore, CNA struck a balance by absorbing the essence of DK and the Congress.

In the putrifying religious, social, economic and political life of the mid-twentieth century Tamil society, CNA was seeking to absorb solutions from the Socialists and the Communists too. He had learnt from the Communists the idea of state help to those sections of the population which are involved in production. He learnt from the Socialists

that government could be the determining factor in the production, exchange and distribution of the material requirements of society. From the Congress, he had borrowed the theme of state help in the tertiary sector of the economy.

Again, the Congress offered him a model for political organization. Reaching the grass-roots, equal distribution of offices and material incentives, rotation of leadership, decentralization and sharing of powers and responsibilities, policies of 'Give and Take', 'Forget and Forgive', and 'Learning from Others', were principles absorbed especially from Nehru. For the most important requirement of 'Party funds', the DMK simply copied the Congress style.

The DK showed CNA that a political party should not merely be a benefit seeking organization. In duress, a party must be prepared to serve the people in the social sphere. Throughout his life, CNA did not forget this principle. He took the Rationalism from EVR but supplemented it with his abiding faith in Science and Education.

Like a true eclectic, CNA picked up several good ideas from different people, institutions and organizations. With a magic touch he converted them all into his own, in his characteristic way.<sup>10</sup>

### *Annaism as Political Opportunism*

As early as 1960, CNA had held the view that the attainment of Dravidasthan was no longer going to be a serious proposition for bringing welfare to the Tamils. He showed four valid reasons for this change of attitude. Firstly, the Chinese attack made him realise how very difficult and expensive the defence of a country, is. Secondly, he felt that a separate Dravidanad comprising four southern states would not be a practical proposition amidst the irretrievable linguistic states. Thirdly, CNA was convinced that a regional party like his would not be able to penetrate the social milieu of other southern states, or could afford to oppose other well entrenched power centres like the communists in Kerala. He

feared that such an attempt would meet with resistance from those states and would be misconstrued as 'Tamils wanting to dominate them'. Fourthly, CNA felt that the 16th Amendment Bill, 1963 had the covert purpose of making any party pleading for secession be ineligible to contest elections.

Realizing the implications of separatism, CNA announced the renunciation of the secessionist philosophy on October 23, 1963 and confirmed that his DMK would function within the framework of the Constitution. He slowly abandoned the idea of the Dravidian Race and substituted in its place the slogan of 'Tamil Nadu and the welfare of the Tamils'.

Though CNA was concerned with the issue of anti-Brahminism ever since he left the DK, he came to the conclusion that Varnashrama Dharma was reinforced not merely by the Brahmins but also avowedly by the non-Brahmins. Therefore, he began to oppose Varnashrama Dharma alone and slowly abandoned the policy of anti-Brahminism. Likewise he eschewed the word non-Brahmins and would utter only 'socially backward communities'.

CNA also shifted the focus of attention of the Tamils in a different way. He felt that the Brahmins were no longer benefitted by the imposition of Hindi on the Tamils. He held that the actual beneficiaries of the imposition of Hindi were the Banias and the Congress government at the Centre. Therefore, for the welfare of the Tamils, he began to advocate the rightful place of Tamil among other Indian languages and the rightful place for Tamil Nadu in the scheme of the Indian Federation.

At a certain stage in their political career the leaders of the DMK, including CNA, had proclaimed the slogan of 'Achieve or Die' with respect to Dravidanad (Either achieve Dravidanad or reach the burial ground). This transition from Dravidanad to Tamil Nadu, anti-Brahminism to anti-Brahministicism, and to the change of target from the Brahmin to the Congress and the central government had invited the criticism that the DMK and CNA were political opportunists to the core.<sup>11</sup> But when considered from the

standpoint of the welfare of the Tamils those changes were necessary.

### *Annaism as a Mature Ideology*

The maturation of an ideology itself demands a basic idea, addition and subtraction of new themes according to the change in circumstances and the solution to the problem of necessity of political violence. CNA had his 'grounding' in the close contest he had with EVR. But the two personalities were essentially different. It may be said that EVR started his career with the zeal of a revolutionary, worked for long with the determination of a social reformer, but ended with the caution and resilience of a conservative. On the contrary, CNA had travelled on the opposite direction, all the time with firm determination.

CNA had been forced to search for new solutions according to the changing complexions of the social and political problems of the Tamils. In this endeavour he did not hesitate to borrow from the Congress, the Socialists and the Communists. But then, he did not merely present the ideas as he borrowed it from others, but only in an adapted and integrated form in the scheme of his things. The maturity of CNA can be gleaned from the fact that he did not also hesitate to abandon even a few basic principles, if the needs of the society warranted such a course of action.

On the whole, CNA had stood his ground a little in rightist compulsions, a big way in centrist modifications and enormously in leftist hopes. When regionalism was feared as the chief menace to the nation, CNA had the sagacity to impress the stamp of political centrism on the regional parties. So also it goes to the credit of CNA that he, like EVR, had never opted out of the religious, social or political system in which he had functioned. It is for these reasons that CNA became one of the remarkable politicians of the twentieth century in Tamil Nadu.<sup>12</sup> Briefly his mature views

on the socio-political scene of Tamil Nadu may be recounted as constituting:

### 1. *Tamil Nationalism*

CNA had held that the hoary and glorious past of the Tamil Language must be made known to the entire world. He hailed the great contributions made by the Tamilologists, both Western and Tamilian, to the renaissance of Tamil in the present century. He acknowledged the contributions of the DK in bringing the people of Tamil Nadu to an awareness of themselves as a community. His personal contribution since 1935 was also instrumental in enthusing a primordial identification among the Tamils. These attempts at renaissance served to preserve the community and also brought to it a sense of nationality.

However, CNA held that there exist two important threats to the Tamil Language. One threat was the Congress Government at the centre, which wanted to impose Hindi on all non-Hindu speaking people and take away the English language.<sup>13</sup> CNA characterised this effort as the Bania attempt to rule India. The second threat was the pressure of the Congressmen of Tamil Nadu to undo the Tamil identity. CNA characterized this as the effort of the Brahmins to sustain their privileges.<sup>14</sup>

CNA likened the three forms of Tamil (Prose, Poetry and Drama) to the fruit tripos (Mango, Banana and Jack) held to be the sweetest combination in Tamil Nadu. He appealed to all Tamils to guard their beautiful language by donating labour, money and ideas. CNA's hatred towards Hindi and appreciation of English must thus be understood in the political context of the emphasis on the Tamil identity of the people of Tamil Nadu.<sup>15</sup>

### 2. *Self-Respect and Social Reforms*

EVR had invoked the idea of Self-respect of the indivi-

dual to rebel against the obnoxious social degradation perpetrated by the varnashrama dharma. Self-respect is rich in meaning. It is one's respect for his own self. The Justice Party, the Dravida Kazhagam, EVR and later CNA meant by that word some sort of social justice for non-Brahmins. The call for self-respect was also a stronger manifestation of the attempt not only to secure political justice, but to achieve structural change in the Tamil society. It meant self-respect for the (culturally and politically) downtrodden Dravidians, and liberation from the slavery of mind perpetuated by varnashrama dharma.<sup>16</sup>

CNA wanted every Tamilian to have self-respect negatively to rebel against the brahminical way of life and positively to foster equality among the Tamils. The structural changes he desired in the Tamil society in this respect are inter-caste marriages, non-purohit marriages, abolition of untouchability etc.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. *Rationalism and Social Reforms*

From a study of Robert Ingersoll and Marxism, EVR came to the conclusion that religion is not at all necessary for mankind, and that rationalism is the only way for the eradication of superstitions in a society. CNA also accepted this principle. According to them, Rationalism is a scientific enquiry into the meaning of social life and the process of using that knowledge for an establishment of an egalitarian society.<sup>18</sup>

CNA knew that man is moved by the basic desires of food, dress and shelter and that man faces all odds from Nature and society while trying to fulfil his desires. The absence of personal restraint on the part of man in sharing the fruits of nature leads to several social problems. It is here that religion is supposed to show the right path to man. However, as CNA has pointed out, Hindu religion failed in this endeavour.<sup>19</sup> The Varnashrama Dharma of the Hindus had put an end to all creativity in society. Everything came

to be accepted as 'given', leading to dogmas, superstitious and fatalism.<sup>90</sup>

CNA attacked this state of affairs of the Tamil Society forcefully. He said that the role of religion, which divides the people rather than uniting them, is absolutely uncalled for. He did not like the existing situation of entrusting the temples with large treasures of movable and immovable properties. He felt that the properties of the temples are unproductive and go only to help those who are already enjoying riches. Therefore he did not hesitate to put religious scriptures into flames.<sup>91</sup>

He appealed to the Tamils to accept the yardstick of Nationalism to end their superstition and to achieve perfect equality. CNA ardently believed that rationalism in society would usher in a new era of social reforms and that rationalism, science and education would open the eyes of the illiterate masses. It is here he felt that the acceptance of the principle 'One community and one Lord' would help all enormously.<sup>92</sup> In this way, CNA considered himself an experimenter with religion, after the style of Ingersoll and Bertrand Russell.

#### 4. *Joint Sector Socialism*

CNA felt that even the poorest in the land should feel that the country is his. Deprivation should not lead the poor to unwanted conclusions. The government should function for the welfare of the poor. CNA showed hatred for reckless capitalism. He did not relish the idea of a few individuals taking away the fruits of the hard labour of the entire community.

CNA welcomed the philosophy of socialism to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots.<sup>93</sup> He propounded the theory of 'Joint Sector Socialism' in which the government, entrepreneur and the labourer would have a free and equal role to play.<sup>94</sup> However, by this doctrine CNA did not mean either the class collaboration of Gandhi

or the class conflict of Marx.<sup>35</sup> CNA felt that the trusteeship theory of Gandhi was archaic, yet he accepted the ends and means nexus of Gandhi. Likewise CNA felt that class hatred did not bring about any tangible results. Significantly, what emerges from this perspective, is neither class collaboration nor class conflict, instead it is 'class influence'. As such class influence has neither the historical pretensions nor futurist hopes, but only a consideration of the ad hoc present.

Under joint sector socialism, as CNA envisaged it, there would be equal treatment to the agriculturists and the labourers, for these two sections are equally important in production. Again, under joint sector socialism, villages and cities would receive equal attention from the government. CNA did not appreciate black marketing, corruption, hoarding and other economic offences by the traders and the capitalists. At the same time he was willing to provide all state help for economic growth.<sup>36</sup>

### 5. *Democracy*

Democracy is representation of both numbers and the viewpoints. CNA held that in a developing country, proper avenues must be made available for all the peoples to represent themselves. He pinned his faith on periodical elections as the proper mode for the people to articulate and aggregate their demands and to ventilate their grievances. He also felt that the elections could usher in peaceful social and political changes.

CNA was convinced about the need to accommodate several social and political interests and viewpoints for the harmonious progress of all sections of the population. Any disrespect to any section of the population would result only in contempt and acrimony, he held. In that respect his staunch faith was: "All are kings in this country". CNA's concern to accommodate all interests was born out of a conviction for orderly and all-round progress and not out of a



greed for exploitation. He also did not hesitate to reject any such interests aiming at exploitation.<sup>27</sup>

Since the inception of the DMK, CNA was fervently pleading for proportional representation. His reason for that plea was that the simple majority system did not allow regional parties to grow into meaningful opposition inside the parliamentary forums. He feared for sometime that the simple majority system would not allow parties other than the Congress to achieve power. But the electoral victory of the communists in Kerala in 1957 had made him realise that it is possible to obtain power even under the simple majority system and therefore he did not press for proportional representation after 1957 and abandoned that theme after the victory of the DMK in 1967.<sup>28</sup>

CNA's abiding faith was that democracy exists only for the welfare of the people. But he found from experience democracy being trampled by an autocratic government and vested interests. Therefore CNA wanted to instil a permanent fear among the rulers that they may be voted out of power by the wishes of the popular sovereignty. CNA was convinced that it was this fear that makes democracy purposeful.

## 6. *Parliamentary Path*

After eschewing the sessionist idea in 1963, CNA chose to work within the parliamentary orbit. It meant that he was satisfied with the existing institutional arrangements of fundamental rights, directive principles, cabinet form of government, independence of the judiciary and others.<sup>29</sup> However, CNA was not satisfied in one respect — the existing scheme of distribution of powers between the states and centre which is too much weighted on the side of the centre. Therefore he wanted more powers including residuary powers to be transferred to the states.

He wanted a rightful place for every nationality and every state in the Indian federation.<sup>30</sup> CNA had known the

parliamentary game too well and it may be the reason why he had accepted this formula without any reservation. An important point to be mentioned in this context is that as an opposition the DMK wanted the abolition of the post of the Governor but after assuming office, the party allowed the issue to lie low.<sup>31</sup>

The acceptance of the parliamentary path also meant that he was seeking political initiatives for the social problems with which he was concerned. Also the parliamentary path meant the acceptance of non-violent solutions. Like Gandhi, CNA was also searching for love, compassion, clarity and courage in public affairs. It is for this reason that CNA was affectionately praised as the 'Gandhi of South India'.<sup>32</sup>

## 7. *Mass Participation*

Believing that mass political participation would end casteism, communalism, capitalist influence and other vices in public life, CNA urged Tamilians to participate in the great game of democracy.<sup>33</sup> He also felt that only in mass political participation would democracy enrich itself. He thundered that 'number meant strength'. For him mass political participation would also mean the unseating of the Congress which is the care-home for all political bigotry.

For another reason too, mass participation was necessary. The logic of the welfare of the depressed classes, Scheduled castes and Tribes demanded their increasing participation in elections, which would lead to the increasing control of the purse by them. CNA felt that is the surest way ensuring non-Brahmin Welfare.

For the organization of mass participation, CNA pinned his faith on the youth. The adoption of Self-respect and Rationalism by the students and the adoption politics by the youth would guarantee Tamil society a glorious future, he felt. Inviting the efforts of the youth and the students, he asked: 'If this army is defeated, which army will conquer?'

But mass participation does not mean unruly behaviour or breaking down of the rules of the parliamentary game. CNA brought to bear certain principles of action on the rank and file of the party. He advised his followers on several fronts, the chief of which were: 1. Have the heart to bear anything. 2. Let virtue be your guide. 3. Let wisdom be your weapon. 4. Goodwill will thrive. 5. Wisdom is manifested in action. 6. Uphold Duty, Dignity and Discipline. 7. Do not sleep and do not be lazy. 8. Don't sharpen your knives; sharpen your wit. 9. The nation needs democracy and not rule by rowdies. 10. Believe in the ballot-box and not in bullets. 11. Demand non-violence and eschew violence. 12. Don't be mad after victory and don't weep over the failures. 13. Give respect and take respect. 14. Show what is necessary and achieve what is aspired. etc.

His advice to the leaders of the DMK was: 1. Be receptive to ideas (the jasmine of even the neighbour's garden has fragrance). 2. Live and let live. 3. Power should not blind your thoughts. 4. Do not forget your social status prior to achieving power. 5. Bring social reforms step by step. 6. Differences of opinion should not lead to political vendetta. 7. The age of palaces is gone; the present is the times of the poor. 8. Democracy cannot be fostered merely by elections. 9. Turn away from idle talks and get into action. 10. The impulse for domination should be resisted at any cost. 11. Enter Fort George not with pride but with humility. 12. Extend a free hand to friendship and an iron hand to enmity etc.<sup>34</sup>

CNA was successful in the party because he had personally set an example for inner party democracy. He received every one with courtesy, heard them with patience, advised them properly or received ideas open heartedly. He was concerned with periodical elections inside the organization. He kept up a close contact between the legislative and organizational wings of the party. He smothered all factions smoothly. Since CNA's political insight was exceptional, he

was referred as the 'Nehru of the Tamils'.

## 8. *Mass Communication*

CNA was convinced that Tamil renaissance, the welfare of the Tamilians, fight against the Congress authoritarianism and mass participation were all closely linked to one another. Therefore he wanted mass communication to take place. Mass communication had meant not only the growth of the language but also political development.<sup>35</sup>

The DK was using only the press and the platform for reaching the masses.<sup>36</sup> The Congress was slightly successful in using the cinema for mass mobilization during the independence struggle. CNA worked up the idea that with the simplification of Tamil, it would become easy to communicate with the masses. Therefore he increasingly gave himself to pen, press, platform and stage. As cinema would be reaching the masses more directly but at lesser cost, and as also it would fill up party coffers with quick money for organization, CNA wished to try his hands in this field also. The result was that filmic communication has become the forte of the DMK. Tamil, the backward classes, the oppressed classes, the DMK and mass media have all benefitted one another because of their association in a remarkable way. CNA's role in establishing a relationship between these, and especially between Tamil drama and social change through Rationalism, earned for him the appellation 'Bernard Shaw of Tamil Nadu'.<sup>37</sup>

## *Section II: The Socio-Political Ideas of M.G. Ramachandran*

In trying to make some drastic reformulations on the socio-political ideal of EVR, CNA was on his guard both in the theoretical and practical plane. The spirit of the times compelled the disciple to extend and alter certain convictions of the master. However, such an enormous task was

not facing MGR when he pronounced 'Annaism' as the ideology of AIADMK.

But that does not mean that MGR simply espoused the bride kept ready by CNA. He also brought to bear some of his own ideas into CNA's convictions. What was appreciable was the felicity and ease with which MGR had accomplished the blending of his own predilections with the thought of CNA. As an ideology, Annaism does not mean simply what CNA proclaimed and followed. It is more than that.

However, an estimate of Annaism poses unexpected problems. Careful comparison between volumes of writings, speeches and other modes of communication must be done to understand EVR and CNA. That is not possible in the case of MGR, for he has not attempted, barring an autobiographical sketch, any appreciable work, as an author, journalist, or dramatist.<sup>38</sup> His ideas have to be sieved through his various electioneering speeches, Legislative Assembly debates and film dialogues and lyrics. Till date, even the number of biographical accounts of and achievements by MGR remains meagre.

### *MGR's Supplementation to the ideas of CNA*

It was essential for CNA, in his changed circumstances, to gauge the relevance of the ideas of EVR, before he could evolve ideas of his own. On the contrary, CNA and MGR held similar views on several issues and therefore it was easy for MGR to accept the ideas of CNA in their entirety. It was enough for him to supplement and highlight some more issues to redefine the ideology of Annaism and to refix its order of priorities. Following are some of the major issues, which MGR had supplemented to the ideas of CNA.

#### (1) *Casteless Society*

MGR had approvingly held that humanism must be the touchstone to improve the conditions of the downtrodden

masses, so that a sense of self-reliance and satisfaction may be infused among them. He is of the firm opinion that there is no other 'Ism' greater than 'humanism'.<sup>39</sup>

In such a situation all talk of divisions and conflicts in the society, and their propagation, would only lead to breakdown in society. He wants divisions in the Tamil society to be overcome by the propagation of the principle of 'one community and one God'. For, this would eventually lead to the establishment of a casteless society.<sup>40</sup>

## (2) *Class Influence*

The acceptance of the class question by MGR, is a continuation of the policy of the joint sector socialism of CNA. He hopes that, like a surgeon handling a deadly knife, it is possible to make some judicious levelling up and levelling down amidst the economic inequalities in social order, so that a bridging may be brought about between the haves and have nots.<sup>41</sup>

## (3) *Parliamentary Path*

MGR accepts the medium of political initiative for settling all problems of the society. He has abiding faith in democracy, parliamentary institutions, constitution, and the party system that now exists. He wants just one improvement in the institutional pattern in India, viz., the electors should have the right to recall their legislators.<sup>42</sup>

## (4) *Social Order*

MGR believes that man is born unfettered but becomes a victim of the existing social conditions. Artificial distinctions in the society, which were reinforced by centuries of customs and caste tendencies, have brought about several social disabilities. To remove them, depressed classes were so far given concessions in the shape of reservations for

public appointments and education. Now the AIADMK had pledged to remove all such artificial disparities by providing encouragement to all those who are economically backward irrespective of their castes.<sup>43</sup>

#### (5) *Special Treatment to Women*

MGR holds that by tradition, women are shouldering the responsibility of domestic management. They are the sentinels of our civilization and culture and also the teachers who mould the character of man. Yet they are the most suppressed section of the population. To end this suppression, MGR wants a proper planning to be brought about. As a first step, women's participation in public life should be increased; wage anomalies in factories should be ended; special educational opportunities must be provided; and at least 25% of the seats both in the state and central legislative bodies must be reserved for woman.<sup>44</sup>

#### (6) *Clean Administration*

MGR sincerely feels that there is no use in obtaining political power without the intention to carry the reins of administration in a clean way. Corruption breeds all sorts of vices in the administration leading to nepotism, favouritism, mismanagement and malfunctioning. Slowly corruption extends to the government, the party and the society. MGR suggests that unless a party promises clean administration it should not be voted to power. Generally corruption arises inside the party if it has the motivation of achieving power alone. Therefore all parties should have socially benevolent motivations.<sup>45</sup>

#### (7) *Prohibition*

MGR appreciates total prohibition without exemption for foreign liquors. This social idea was supported and pro-

pagated by Gandhiji and CNA. MGR hopes that the sooner total prohibition is introduced all over the country it is better for the common people. Lack of an All-India policy so far, had made the prohibition policies of a few states end in fiasco; and preventive measures to check illicit distillation and consumption by the dry states have resulted in wasted efforts.<sup>46</sup>

### *The Core of Annaism Today*

The ideology of Annaism encompasses the spheres of society, party and the government. Especially it stands for the following:-

#### *A. In Tamil Society*

- (1) Propagation of the glory of Tamil and the heritage of Tamilians; and resisting any form of domination upon the Tamils.
- (2) Welfare of both economically and socially backward communities.
- (3) Special concern for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the poor and the needy.
- (4) Establishment of a casteless society and smooth functioning between the classes through 'Class influence'.
- (5) Upholding individual self-respect against all social injustices.
- (6) Removal of social dogmas through Rationalism, Science and Education.

#### *B. In the Party*

- (1) Acceptance of all good ideas for the welfare of Tamils irrespective of their source.
- (2) Untiring work on the part of the followers to achieve a new society.



- (3) Duty, Dignity and Discipline on the part of all concerned for the welfare of the Tamils.
- (4) Maintaining inner party democracy and mass political participation.
- (5) Pursuing non-violent path in social and political objectives.
- (6) Establishment of mass communications to make people aware of social injustices and their solutions.

*C. In the Government*

- (1) Providing clean administration.
- (2) Resisting the imposition of Hindi.
- (3) Consideration for suppressed people and the weaker sections of the community.
- (4) Sincere attempt to remove social evils like drinking.
- (5) Accountability of Legislators and Administrators to the people.
- (6) Inter-state co-operation, especially among the Southern states, for achieving economic goals.
- (7) Centre-State Co-operation and the rightful place for Tamil Nadu in the Indian Federation.

*Political Communication of Annaism*

For communicating the ideological symbol of Annaism, MGR has taken many pains. He has resorted to all known forms of mass communication efforts. In fact there are two effective audio techniques, monitored by him: (1) In all the public meetings, electioneering attempts, radio talks and television appearances, MGR invariably includes the phrase 'Kith and Kin' (Rathathin Rathamana Udanpirappugale), at the beginning (it is an effort to involve the audience and the community and it happens to be a style followed by CNA himself), and thunders the phrase, 'Long Live Anna's name and fame', at the conclusion of the public address; and (2) he has caused the party to run a news-

paper for the propagation of its policies and ideals and the paper is entitled, 'Anna'. Visually also MGR has systematized two processes: (1) He has caused the party to accept a flag which has ingrained in it the emblem of a bust-level CNA; and (2) till 1977, he was insisting the habit of tattooing the party flag in the fore-arm of the members of the party. As far as the audio-visual effects are concerned, MGR has insisted that (1) his films should have some references to CNA, either in the lyric, or in the dialogues or preferably in as many place, as possible; and (3) public places and utility services of the Government should be christened after the name of CNA. All these have so far produced a remarkable psychological and participative effect among the common people.

### *Role of Annaism in the AIADMK*

The contents and purposes or the ideologies of a movement and a party in power exhibit a marked contrast. But Annaism, as an ideology, has served the AIADMK both in its formative stage (between 1972 and 1977) as well as after its obtaining power (between 1977 and today). Between these two periods, the process of transformation has been smooth and purposive.<sup>47</sup>

In the early years of the party, Annaism has strengthened it slowly, yet steadily and strongly. With the cherished goals of bringing in a clean administration and the unseating of the DMK Government, Annaism has taken up the following stages of action, to educate its own followers and common masses: (1) The first step was a process of creating consciousness among the masses to make them aware of the real defects in the organisation and administration of the DMK regime; (2) The second step was the renunciation of the benefits of office among the followers of CNA; (3) The third step was to restore a sense of confidence in the people, so that they can think, unite and move to make a new history for themselves; (4) The fourth step was to

explain to the people about their glorious past achieved by CNA; and (5) the fifth step was to create among the masses a desire for clean administration and sustain that desire by investing it for a political change.

After obtaining power, Annaism has served the party in three important areas, viz., society, party and Government. Annaism reminds the leader and the party constantly about the milestones to be reached. It has made them conduct periodical elections within the party to maintain inner party democracy. The very same ideology has been the root for the various policies of day-to-day administration.<sup>48</sup>

### *Section III: Conclusion*

CNA's judgment about the socio-political conditions of Tamil society in the late forties, made him found a new organization and engraft on it an ideology, suitable to the changing times, but yet retaining the fundamentals of EVR. His conviction in the tripos, Duty, Dignity and Discipline had served him well in the Government. More than that, it had created a band of followers who go to the extent of worshipping him.

Unlike empires, organizations are shattered by the tussles from within. Ideological quarrels and personality clashes are found in almost all organizations, as soon as their founder-leader departs. This is true of the DMK also. MGR, raising the banner of sincerity to CNA, mingled his own convictions and ambitions with that of CNA and proclaimed that Annaism would become the basic creed of his new organization.

Annaism has served him well to stabilise AIADMK and to take the reigns of power in 1977. The remarkable propensity of Annaism has been witnessed again in the 1980 and 1984 Assembly Elections. Yet, it has become difficult to measure the contours of this ideology primarily because it happens to be the most recent manifestation of Tamil nationalism.

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## LEADERSHIP

Specifically, leadership is a group and organizational phenomenon. Individuals join together to form a group whenever they have common needs and goals which require the joint endeavours of the members. As soon as a group is formed, a person is needed who can keep the members together and help the group move towards its goals.<sup>1)</sup> Depending on the nature of the goals and the characteristics of the group members the person who is perceived to be the most capable for realising these goals and keeping the members together is given the position of a leader.<sup>2)</sup>

(A leader is the one who exercises authority and makes decisions for his group, holds the chair, is identified and accepted by the followers, succeeds in getting others to follow him etc.)<sup>3)</sup> Further a leader stands close to the norms of the group, influences group activities toward goal setting and goal achievement, initiates and facilitates member's interactions, and creates most effective changes in the group performance.<sup>4)</sup> (In short, a leader initiates, organises, clarifies, questions, motivates, summarises, and concludes the goals of the group) He distributes rewards, gives punishments, allocates responsibilities, mediates in interpersonal relationships, represents the inflow and outflow of resources and influences, helps his group to deal with the external environment and does a host of other things which are helpful to his group.<sup>5)</sup>

Weber distinguishes three types of leadership—traditional, rational and charismatic. Traditional leadership rests upon established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions. Rational leadership derives its authority from

formal institutions. But the charisma of a leader stems from some divine source or heroism or superpower or exemplary character. It denotes certain individual qualities by virtue of which the leader exercises a spell over the followers. Weber defines charisma as a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as being endowed with the gift of grace.

(Charisma makes its appearance when leaders and the led come to realise the breakdown of the existing socio-political order. Weber's idea of charismatic leadership is intended to account for historical breakthroughs explaining the phenomenon of radical departure from average behaviour patterns.) Here the message of the leader is always an exhortation to the followers to break with the established order.

Charisma is inextricably linked with recognition. The recognition of charisma in a leader occurs only when he embodies values and hopes shared by his followers. His message has a contemporary relevance. (A charismatic leader demands the unconditional allegiance of his followers. He seldom wants his performances to be tested against some criteria over which he has no control. )

However, the Weberian typology of leadership was an outcome of reflection over the European experience. Weber did not foresee the birth of mass societies like India. While discussing the typologies of leadership in mass societies, due recognition must be given to the age-long classification of leadership viz. positional, situational and divine.<sup>7</sup> This classification takes into account only the manner in which leadership was first exhibited.

A combination of both these typologies together, for a better understanding of the origins and consequences, would suggest nine important categories of leadership. (MGR's leadership fits into the 'Situational-Charismatic' category. His leadership emerged out of a chaotic and factional situation in the DMK, and he has a very large mass following who obey without any questioning. The 'situational-charis-

matic' is also a successful combination of the trends of populist appeals and mass responses.)

For a proper analysis of the leadership of the AIADMK, section I of this chapter focusses on the development of MGR's charisma. Section II explains the manner in which he has built the organization. Section III describes the relationships he has maintained with several aspects of the political system. Section IV summarises the discussions made.

### *Section I: MGR's Personality*

Man is a creature of necessity, determined by the forces of nature and by his biological impulses. At the same time there is a possibility that he can transcend those natural processes and manipulate them according to his will. Reinhold Niebuhr says, "To the essential nature of man belong, on the one hand, all his natural endowments and determinations, his physical and social impulses, his sexual and racial differentiations, in short, his character as a creature embedded in the natural order. On the other hand his essential nature also includes the freedom of his spirit, his transcendence over natural process, and finally his self-transcendence."<sup>8</sup>

Man may live his life at the biological level, where he seeks to satisfy his animal appetites and desires, or he may live it on the distinctly human or personal level. It is the ambition of M.G. Ramachandran to consciously seek to love on the higher level and maintain deep rooted ideals of personal honour and responsibility. He believes that it is within everybody's power to will and to attain complete selfhood. He firmly rejects satisfactions of life in sensation. He wants the unifying and orienting impulses in human life to have the upper hand over the scramble for wealth, social position or power and for the further pleasures their possession brings. His conviction is that personal growth and social progress depend on each other.

MGR asserts that his experiences in life were unique. Reading through his autobiographical sketch, '*Why I was born?*', one is convinced that hunger, squalor and poverty were some of the enervating conditions his family was forced to endure.<sup>9</sup> The pitiable conditions of the family, which was in search of food and employment, compounded when the head of the family, the eldest daughter and the eldest son died one after another. Having wandered in Sri Lanka and felt helpless there, the poor family had undergone the ordeal of returning to their native Kerala, but without any fruitful result. The family had to move again to Kumbakonam in Tamil Nadu in the hope of sustenance. The death of the other sister in abysmal conditions of poverty was another shocking incident in the family. Further the poverty cost M.G.R. and his brother what little education they were trying to acquire.

It was against these abnormal conditions of life that several pieces of counsel, advice and morals rendered by his mother, had struck in young MGR's mind. He saw around him more and more degradation of the life of the poor and at the same time the unwillingness on the part of the rich and influential to help the lowly. A natural tendency of revolting against these ignominies had set in his mind. But his mother counselled him to remain patient, calm and yet determined. She was responsible in letting the boy know the meaninglessness of immediate violent responses to the problems of life. It was because of her grooming that MGR began to imbibe two characteristic attitudes in his life, viz., to foster the tendencies of being human and to resist the tendencies that degrade a human being.

For fostering the tendencies of being human, MGR began to cultivate good habits from his very early life.<sup>10</sup> He used to be simple, soft-spoken, gentle, patient, and courteous and wished to learn from others. He happened to be a teetotaler too. He had always believed in truth, friendliness, dignity of labour and sacrifice. Equal treatment to those who praise and condemn him, equal respect

for physical and mental labour, and equal courtesy to the rich and the poor — these were his forte from his younger days. He staunchly believed that truth would always triumph and sincere service for the poor would open the gateways of the kingdom of God. On several occasions, his handsome personality itself had kept many in wonderment. To keep himself physically fit, MGR had done routine exercises daily and to expand his vision and thinking, he had read keenly on various matters.

The development of these good qualities stood him in good stead when he faced several ordeals which followed in succession. While acting in the 30 dramas of the Madurai Original Boys' company, or while travelling throughout Rangoon along with the Uraiyur Modern Drama Company, MGR had to face a lot of pin-pricking, sarcasm, discouragement, discourtesy, discrimination and cheating. These stimuli increased MGR's faith in goodness more and more.

The unpleasant story of the world of dramas had continued in the world of films also.<sup>11</sup> In general, chances were promised in the film world first but later on they were all withdrawn. Payment for acting was never given as stipulated in the agreements. If payments were made, they were not in full settlement of the dues. The whims and fancies of the producers and directors ruled the day and anyone who had the strength to speak against the injustices was destroyed beyond recovery. Filmshooting was hazardous, but nobody cared for the welfare of the actors. Many good suggestions from actors and others were firmly rejected by the Directors. And the film world was full of enmities, cliques, cowards and quislings. In such a world MGR had to suffer for his livelihood and self from 1934 to 1947. The problems were so menacing that he had thought, every now and then, of joining the armed forces. His breakthrough in the filmworld came through the film 'Raja Kumari' which was made in 1947. The period between 1947—53 produced regular income for the family and that meant that MGR's mother along with the family had suffered for about

40 years continuously amidst grinding poverty. It was this fact of life which made MGR worship his mother, and to have a soft corner for the sufferings of women in general.

His association with the DMK, and especially with C.N. Annadurai, from 1953 onwards, opened up a new phase in MGR's life. MGR took to C.N. Annadurai and the friendship between the two grew.<sup>12</sup> When the DMK began to preach the political ideology of non-Congressism in a subtle manner in the films of MGR, the latter also found an opportunity budding before him to preach his essential belief in humanism. And MGR never lost sight of his message in any of the films he had acted after 1953.

Unfortunately, and much to his dismay, MGR found that the world of politics was also full of deceit, cunning and violence. Honest, simple and truthful people were the first casualties in the world of politics, which knew no morals. MGR felt the necessity of being more and more human in politics. MGR learnt, out of his experiences in the worlds of drama and the cinema, to be human. But later he found that it was not enough to be human and one would have to be mighty also. This simple truth, amplified in different situations, roles and costumes, became the formula for several of his films later.

In fact an analysis of the films of MGR shows the existence of two important categories. MGR had rejected appearing in mythologicals long back. Whether the movie was a historical or a social one, one of the two formulas of MGR was set in it. The first formula was this: Hero combines in himself humanism and the mighty determination to achieve his ends. The second formula was to project one of the heroes of the film as essentially human but cowardly and weak, who was not able to know how to achieve his love and his ends. The other part of the second formula was to project another hero who knows his own mind and mighty enough to achieve his love and his ends, and who also helps the first hero in his life. More often than not, MGR played both these roles. The analysis

shows that MGR's second formula was much more successful than the first one among the Tamils.

MGR's films were born out of his own experience. Naturally there was an identification of the actor with his roles and the roles with the actor.<sup>13</sup> When more and more of such films began to appear, MGR became the protector of the common man. And the commonfolk began to love him, adore him, discuss him and worship him in a serious vein.<sup>14</sup>

In 1953, a Muslim fan of MGR mortgaged his wife's jewels to start a fan club for MGR and the trend caught with the masses in Tamil Nadu. The villagers' enthusiasm for such manram (fan club) activities is more than their urban counterparts. These clubs were self-formed, assisted by the manram stalwarts, financially autonomous and were only indirectly aided on occasions. The devotion of the fans to the star is all absorbing, and the fan subordinates all his other activities to manram work. These manrams, in course of time, gave publicity to MGR's films, indirectly undertook the political activities of the DMK and became hotbed of contention between MGR and Shivaji Ganesan. MGR also paid considerable attention to these manrams both to increase his popularity and to make them centres for the organisational activities of the DMK.<sup>15</sup>

When riches came his way, MGR began to help the poor directly.<sup>16</sup> Since he had no children, MGR adopted the poor as his wards. He was always the first to give disaster relief. He supported several orphanages and schools. After the torrential rains in Madras, he gave raincoats to 6000 rickshawwallahs. When fire destroyed some Madras hutments, he gave a lakh of rupees for relief and announced that the hundredth day of a film then running would not be celebrated because of the slum-dwellers's sufferings.<sup>17</sup>

The storyline of MGR's films normally preach: (1) Poverty makes man a beast; (2) Man must progress through hard work; (3) A hard working labourer will achieve laurels in society; (4) One should not be destined to work and the

other should not be destined to eat; (5) If the poor rise against the rich, nobody could stop such a revolution; (6) Believe in wisdom and Science and put your labour to the best use; (7) Few can be cheated for long; Many can be cheated for some time; but it is impossible to cheat all for all the time. (8) If individuals correct themselves, there is no need for prisons. (9) Man is born innocent, but later his villiany becomes boundless; (10) Money, Power and Beauty are transient; only a good heart is liked by all; (11) There must be dignity of labour; (12) Think twice before you promise but once a promise is given, it should be kept at any cost; (13) Rural folk do not enjoy like the urban people; (14) Capitalists will never bother about the problems of the poor; (15) The government will always be inept to redress the grievances of the poor; and (16) The rich won't yield and the poor won't budge etc.<sup>18</sup>

This preaching had been an outcome of MGR's wish to destroy the forces that act against humanism. In fact MGR had been in the forefront of the opposing forces throughout his life. In the drama companies, he used to ask for better treatment for all, unmindful of his possible retrenchment. During the freedom struggle, he was a staunch Congressman and a firm believer in the Gandhian way of life till 1953. When the Congress became wayward, he joined the DMK to fight it out. Naturally his inner impulse recoiled over the factional squabbles in the DMK in the post-Anna-durai period. When he chose to attack the bigotry in the DMK, his blow was decisive. He proved that he was beneficial to the DMK till 1969 but forced to act mightily after that to project his own humanitarian principles. Here his life's experiences, both personal and filmic, coincided with the political climax in the DMK.<sup>19</sup>

Thus MGR became a Vadhiyar (Mentor or Guru), the only Makkal Thilagam (idol of the masses), and a Puratchi Nadigar (Revolutionary Actor) etc. He is the symbol of hope for the poor in Tamil Nadu. Hence when M. R. Radha shot at MGR on January 12, 1967, people were crying in the



streets. The entire business community closed down their shops. 50,000 people gathered at the Royapettah Hospital to pray for his wellbeing. Twenty rickshawwallahs cycled all the way from Bangalore to see MGR. For six weeks he lay in the hospital as fans awaited each medical report of his health. He was visited by the poorest people from the streets and by the luminaries of every walk of life. Shivaji Ganesan urged all to pray for MGR. Padmini, an actress, went to Tirupathi to pray for MGR. Representatives of the fan clubs in Madras also went to the Tirupathi temple and shaved their hair in offering to the deity for the quick recovery of MGR. The 'Hundi' at Tirupathi was filled with purses and jewellery for the recovery of MGR's health.

The President of the MGR fan club, who had gone to the temple said that MGR survived the bullet because he was superhuman in generosity, with the qualities of a God. After one hundred days MGR returned to the studio amidst the garlands and the crowds and said that he had been saved because of thousands of loving hearts.<sup>20</sup>

By his humanism, by his reluctance to accept evils, and by his inclination to fight against the forces that make man beastly, MGR identified himself with the vast populace of Tamil Nadu. Just as his film and politics could not be separated, his heart and his kindness to the sufferings of the poor cannot be separated. MGR succeeded C. N. Annadurai as the most lovable mass leader by dint of his magnanimous efforts and in his own right.

## *Section II: MGR and the Development of the AIADMK Organization*

The structures of political parties depend on the functions as well as the methods they employ to realise their aim of capturing political power. Parties which wish to widen their electoral support and operate at a parliamentary level will need a different structure from a party forced to the underground by restrictive legislation. ~~Knowing well these~~

aspects of party organization, MGR proceeded to construct the AIADMK in the context of the requirements of the socio-political circumstance in Tamil Nadu, and as conditioned by the human and material resources at his command.

The AIADMK drew inspiration from five different organizational opinions and incorporated them all in its structure. The opinions were : (1) Mckenzie's opinion that organizations do not differ drastically but only the people who man it;<sup>21</sup> (2) Newmann's, maxim that it was loyalty among the party members that counts more than anything else;<sup>22</sup> (3) Michel's formula that it was the iron law of oligarchy that always rules;<sup>23</sup> (4) Lenin's advocacy that democratic centralism was always efficient;<sup>24</sup> (5) Duverger's conviction that 'branch type' is always suited to mass membership, which is distributed geographically according to constituency arrangements.<sup>25</sup> Enmeshing all these ideals, the AIADMK organisation is worked out by MGR in the following manner:

### 1. *Extent and Basis of Membership*

Membership has been extended to all men and women above the age of 18, provided they pay the membership fee of a very negligible amount of 50 paise. However membership has been denied to all those who have been members of caste and religious associations or other parties. Members have been expected to take part in the discussions of the General Council and elect their representatives to higher party organisations. Members are also expected to obey the commands of the higher party organisations. They have been requested to contribute financially if the party requests contributions.<sup>26</sup>

### 2. *Organizational Structure*

The organizational structure of the party has been divided into the rural sector and the urban sector.<sup>27</sup> In the rural

sector, every village in Tamil Nadu has a branch of the AIADMK. It has not less than 25 members. The members elect among themselves a Chairman, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Joint Secretary and a representative for the higher organization. All these office bearers together with 3 more members form the executive committee of the unit. The executive committee meets once in two months and the General Council meets once in six months.

Next to the village units, the higher organization of the AIADMK will be 'Panchayat Union' branches. The office-bearers of the village units along with the representative become the members of the General Council at the Union level. This Union General Council elects a 14 member executive committee which consists of a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Joint Secretary and a representative to the District Organization.

At the district level the General Council consists of all the office bearers of the Unions and the representatives. The District General Council elects a 19 members executive committee which includes a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Joint Secretary, a Treasurer and a representative to the State Organisation.

In the Urban sector municipal towns with a population of less than 1,00,000 will have an AIADMK branch which will be called 'Town Councils'. Here the organisation is based on the ward system. Every ward will function like that of a village unit. And all wards pool their office bearers together to form the General Council of the Municipal town which, in turn, elects a 25 members executive which has a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Joint Secretary, a Treasurer and a representative to the state organization.

Likewise cities will have the ward system. The General Council of the city elects a 50 member executive committee to transact business. The executive committee has a President and other office bearers.

Office bearers and representatives at the district level

from the rural sector and office bearers and representative of the municipal town/city from the urban sector form the general body meeting at the State level. This general body meeting also accommodates some nominated members and some ex-officio members. The general body meeting elects a Council Chairman, a General Secretary, a Treasurer and several secretaries for the mass fronts. The Council Chairman functions only as a nominal head for the conduct of general body meetings.

The General Body is to meet once in six months and the executive council meets once in three months. The party conducts elections once in three years. District conferences and State Conferences of AIADMK may also be held once in three years.

All members of the party are subjected to the rules and regulations of the party. Any deviant behaviour would make a member liable to offer explanation and he was administered warning, suspension or dismissal. Normally show cause notices were served, to the party members before they were subjected to the disciplinary procedures. All appeals against the decisions of disciplinary proceedings must be made to the General Secretary of the party and his decision will be final.

### 3. *Finances*

The most vital area in which parties are anxiously interested but which remains resistant to investigation is party finance. The parties presenting a balance-sheet to their general conferences do not intend that it should be anything more than an arithmetic exercise to render a visual satisfaction to their members, and are not normally inclined to create an atmosphere for initiating discussions on it. Party finance is concealed in the AIADMK as is the case everywhere. In general, the party finances of the AIADMK are gathered from:

1. Subscription and contribution from members.
2. Donation from sympathizers
3. Income from the sales of party literature and party journals
4. Periodic collections from the public
5. Collections from cultural programmes and dramatic performances staged by the party troupes or under the aegis of parties.
6. Presentation of purses to party leaders.
7. Voluntary contributions from the business community, etc.<sup>98</sup>

#### 4. *Propaganda and Public Relations*

Parties engage in propagating their programmes, which is their principal means of reaching to the masses. They volunteer to take stands on public issues to secure the confidence and support, and to bring about the cohesiveness of the people. They seek mass persuasion with the aid of mass communication media like the press, the Radio, the Television, the film and the platform. They organize public meetings, rallies, processions, protest marches, token fasts, bandhs, hartals, signature campaigns, and submission of memoranda to attract the masses. Occasionally they also resort to agitation. The AIADMK has adopted all these techniques in its parliamentary struggle for social change.

The AIADMK is now aided by the party newspapers 'Anna' 'Pon Manam' 'Thai' etc. and the pro AIADMK press like 'Makkal Kural', 'Thina Thanthi', 'Malai Murasu' and the 'News Today'. Some of the effective speakers of the AIADMK are: S.R. Radha, Dr. Samarasam, Thiruppur Manimaran, Madhusudhan, N.V.N. Selvam, Kovai Thambi, Durai Govindarajan, Jeppiars Valampuri John, G.K. Subramaniam, Sivasuriyan, Valarmathi, Nellai Balaji, Liakath Ali Khan, Thiruvai Annamalai J.C.D. Prabhakaran and others. To propagate its ideals the party has staged a few also. Kathir Somasundaram',

plays Yar Intha M.L.A., (Who is this M.L.A?) won the appreciation of many people.<sup>29</sup>

### *Section III: Impact of Leadership*

Leadership styles vary and usually they are classified into Authoritarian, Participative, and Nurturant-Task types.<sup>30</sup> An authoritarian leader enjoys immense power and therefore gets higher status and importance in a group. He knows more than others, gets his own way unmindful of others, disciplines the members and has a strong control, rejects the ideas of others etc. He remains in power so long as he is successful. A participative leader regards all members of the group as equally important, brings them together, coordinates their activities, and unites them towards the realization of the goals of the group. He is friendly, persuasive, creates trust and happiness, and free to approach. Thus authoritarian and participative leadership exhibit diametrically opposite tendencies.

A Nurturant-Task leader is one whose primary concern is his task-system. He wants to get the work done. He structures his and his subordinates' role clearly so that communications are explicit and relevant. He makes the subordinates understand and accept the organizational goals and cultivates a commitment among them, makes the organization to function in a climate of purposiveness. But he is the benevolent guide who cares for his subordinates and takes a personal interest in their well-being. Thus a nurturant-task leader is perceived to be active, strong, dominant, firm, independent, alert, encouraging and extrovert. He is a successful combination of the good qualities of both the authoritarian and the participative styles.

MGR's dislike for poverty, hunger and squalor had been well known. To remove them MGR expects every one's helping hand. He wants everyone to be firm in his mind and puts forth his might to achieve a rosy future. MGR equally dislikes the infirmity of the mind and sluggi-

shness in action. He is kind, sympathetic, affectionate, understanding and appreciative to one and all. At the same time he is a hard task-master. Naturally his style of leadership with several aspects of the political system resembles a a Nurturant-Task variety.

### 1. *MGR and Party Workers*

Since most of the party workers happened to be the members of his fan clubs, MGR hears them patiently, helps them in their education and livelihood, and always stands ready to share their grievances. At the same time he advises them that they are mere workers in the society. He insists that party workers should not be boasting and assuming. He does not allow any erring party worker to go scotfree.

He wants the party workers to understand the problems of the society in the same manner in which he approaches them. He expects the party workers not to differentiate between various sections of the society. Such differentiations he believes, would only add to the grievances of the society. Loyalty to the party, sincerity to the teachings of Anna-durai, selfless work, and social benefits should be the ideals of a party worker, according to MGR.<sup>31</sup>

### 2. *MGR and the Legislature*

Even while selecting the candidates for elections, MGR insists on the good qualities of the individual and on the esteem the candidate possesses among the electorate. He reminds the legislators that their duty was to fulfil the aspirations of the people and nothing else. Every legislator must spend his time in his constituency to assess the problems of the people. The bid of the legislators to speculate on wealth is a crime and a social evil.

MGR expects the Legislator to work unitedly for the social regeneration and economic progress of Tamil Nadu. The legislators were expected to do services to the society

with all smiles. The legislator, MGR advises, should not give himself to pleasures and circumstances'.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. *MGR and the Cabinet*

All the three cabinets of MGR were known for their three characteristic features: (1) MGR had accommodated duly qualified persons to the ministries e.g., C. Aranganayagam, who is a teacher cum Educationist from Coimbatore and S. Ramachandran, an Engineer cum technologist from Panruti, had been given Cabinet responsibility (2) MGR has not interfered in the functioning of the ministries, and (3) MGR had provided the maximum coordination between the ministries and therefore interdepartmental quarrels were absent.

Even while providing the maximum cooperation, MGR used to tell his colleagues that no party should pride itself for the achievements it was able to register. He exhorted the ministers to fulfil the promises given to the people by the party.<sup>33</sup>

### 4. *MGR and the Bureaucracy*

MGR firmly believes that one's education should not be wasted. He wants it to be put into the best use. Every body's labour and intelligence should be channelised to the eradication of the injustices prevalent in the society. Therefore MGR never hesitated to get advice from the experts, the scientists and the technologists. Likewise he wants the experience of the bureaucracy to be creative enough in alleviating the problems of the poor. MGR strictly follows the cardinal principle of non-interference in the functions of the civil service and the judiciary. MGR thinks that the corrupt administration will destroy all the best efforts of the government.<sup>34</sup>



## 5. *MGR and the Opposition*

C.N. Annadurai always said that 'the jasmine of even your enemy's garden will have its fragrance' and he did not hesitate to give due respect to ideas and persons, wherever and wherever they were due. MGR also follows the footsteps of Annadurai. 'The achievements of a ruling party would become nothing unless and until the opposition joins the ruling party with appreciative hands'. This is MGR's staunch belief. Focussing on the problems of the people would become easier, MGR suggests, if the opposition also extends a helping hand.<sup>25</sup>

## 6. *MGR and the People*

MGR's identification with the people is so complete that it has become routine to see the crowds becoming rapturous at the sight of MGR. The masses worship him, mothers take him to be their child, young women are fascinated by the heroic and romantic portrayals of MGR, youth take him to be their brother, and the students see in his personality benevolent leadership to be emulated. It is a common sight that MGR is welcome during electioneering with all saffron waters and sandal powders. People mix the soda water he had left in the bottle which he had drunk, with more water and share it joyfully. This much of affection melts MGR to a great extent. He is moved and becomes more and more dedicated to the service of the people.<sup>26</sup>

The parliamentary game was more relaxed and leisurely during the nineteenth century. Hence several varieties and styles of leadership were promoted. But in the twentieth century, party and parliamentary discussions had become extensively busy, crowded and routine. Amery commented during the first world war that 'the best club in London had become a overworked legislative factory'.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly the leadership styles had also changed, to be efficient and

businesslike. The test and strength of leadership now lies in electoral victories, which demand stern authority and understanding participation. In such a situation, the nurturant-task style is eagerly grasped by the leaders of the parliamentary parties.

MGR had adopted this nurturant-task style of leadership with consummate success. By employing this style he had prepared his party for mass struggles as well as for electoral competitions. MGR's leadership and the party's response — in agitating throughout Tamil Nadu against the price rise on May 9, 1974, the leading of a procession demanding the MLA's belonging to the DMK to submit the accounts of their earnings (as well as that of their relatives), conducting a hartal throughout Tamil Nadu on the eve of submission of a memorandum to the Governor and the President against the corrupt practices of the DMK government — were copious examples of the mass struggles of the AIADMK. Likewise MGR, taking a leaf from Annadurai's life, became the greatest architect of electoral alliances in Tamil Nadu from the very first election (by election at Dindigul) he had faced. The nurturant-task style had allowed him to build coalitions wherever he wanted them, and to terminate the coalitions whenever their utility had ceased.

MGR's mass leadership had two other ramifications too. One was concerned within the borders of Tamil Nadu and the other was linked with the happenings in the adjoining states of Tamil Nadu.

V.C. Ganesan (Shivaji) was born on October 1, 1928 at a village in South Arcot. He belongs to Kallar Community and the Congress tradition. In 1949, Ganesan appeared in the play 'Chandra Mohan', written by C.N. Annadurai and promptly won the title 'SHIVAJI' from EVR for his histrionic acting. Shivaji's first film *Parasakthi* created quite a stir among the Tamils. Since then he had grown from strength to strength in dramas and cinemas. His riches made him generous and stately.

Politics makes a bed fellow of almost every film artist in Tamil Nadu. Shivaji had been politically weaned in EVR's DK. But his belief in the dictum 'art for art sake' and his reluctance to use the medium of cinema for political ends had made him wander politically from the DK to the Congress, through the DMK, the TNP and the Congress (O). After the DMK's achievement of power in 1967, Shivaji made a determined effort to come alive in politics for the cause of the Congress and for himself. But, by that time, MGR had gone on the track miles ahead. A comparison between the efforts of Shivaji and MGR proves the point that, although MGR came to prominence through the Cinema, the film alone was not responsible for his political achievements.<sup>88</sup>

MGR's phenomenal success in Tamil Nadu induced the actors of the neighbouring states to try their hands in politics. Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao, an accomplished actor of the Telugu Screen for three generations put together, took a leaf from MGR's life to establish his party. Telugu Desam was formed in February 1982 and obtained power in November 1982.<sup>89</sup> His was the first non-congress ministry in Andhra Pradesh since Independence.<sup>40</sup>

#### *Section IV: Conclusion:*

Politics by leadership is one of the distinguishing features of the twentieth century. If the eighteenth century enunciated popular sovereignty as the major theme in democratic thought and the nineteenth century was concerned with the challenge of stratification and group conflict, then twentieth century trends have made us sensitive to the role of leadership. Especially charismatic leadership has become a phenomenon by itself.

Weber laid his finger on an important aspect of power — charismatic leadership — while analysing the nature of legitimacy. But the problem of legitimacy and the grounds of allegiance is much more complex than what Weber makes

out. Because of this understanding, Ann Ruth and Dorothy Willner criticise the indiscriminate and imprecise usage of the term 'charisma' in current discussions of authority.<sup>41</sup> They point out that the term charisma had recently attained a widespread but debased currency. What was occasionally applied to leaders like Gandhi, Lenin and Roosevelt is being indiscriminately used for any leader with popular appeal. The term has become a sophisticated camouflage to cover one's ignorance about the varieties of leadership. Karl Lowenstein also subscribes to Ruth and Willner's viewpoint.<sup>42</sup> He says that the popularity of a leader among the voters may not necessarily be attributed to charisma. Since democratisation has considerably increased the plebiscitarian component of modern politics, Lowenstein holds, charisma cannot be properly be applied to contemporary politics.

In contrast to this viewpoint, Shils sees a charismatic element in all societies.<sup>43</sup> In formulating his theory, Shils notes Weber's distinction between the disruptive or innovative effects of charisma first. He further argues that Weber himself does not confine his use of the term to magical or religious beliefs. Therefore Shils holds that men in all societies confront exigencies of life which demand a comprehensive solution. Man's position in the cosmos, birth, death, marriage, basic ideas of equity and justice occupy central position in his reckoning. The need for establishing some order in respect of these basic concerns may vary among men. And charisma attaches itself to those individuals or institutions which satisfy this need or promise to do so. In other words, charisma had necessarily a protean character, since it may become a focus of belief whenever ultimate concerns are given an authoritative ordering. As such, Weber's idea of charismatic leadership is intended to account for historical breakthroughs explaining the phenomena of radical departures from normal behaviour patterns. Here the message of the leader is always an exhortation to break with the established order. Viewed in this light, charisma is not merely a feature of personality, but an

important adjunct of the relationship between the leader and his disciples.

Shils' argument places MGR definitely on the plane of charismatic leaders. Considering the situation of the emergence of this leadership, MGR's can be described as 'situational — charismatic.' MGR's personal experiences in early life, in the world of drama and cinema and later in politics has convinced him to be human in all circumstances. Man's reduction to beastly activities does not serve any purpose other than destroying him. MGR has accepted not merely the philosophy of being human, but also has developed in himself the tendency to resist the forces that contribute to dehumanization. When his personal life, which synchronizes with that of the millions the poor, had been projected on the screen, the actor, the story and the masses all felt to be one at issue. Further, the political support from the DMK stabilised his career to a very great extent. At a certain point the actor and the DMK were also fused. Thus the actor, the fan clubs, the masses, the cinema and the DMK had become one ideological and one organizational whole. MGR's popular stimuli and the mass responses were almost instantaneous leading to the establishment of the charisma of MGR.

Having questioned the legitimacy of the DMK, which had forgotten the well-being of the people, MGR easily walked out of the DMK with all the ideological and organisational *elan* of the DMK. The establishment of the AIADMK was swift and the settlement of the organizational question for the new party, which was dreaming for a parliamentary role, was quick. Therefore MGR's mass leadership carried the day with all the party workers, the masses, the cabinet, the bureaucracy, the legislature and to a great extent the opposition itself. MGR's mass leadership continues with unassailable simplicity and vitality till today.

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## ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

The purpose of elections is to determine the will of the people. They serve as the means of choosing leaders, for determining who shall govern. They are also a means of influencing the elected leaders and the policy decisions of the elected-government. They help to insure the responsiveness of leaders to the people as a whole. Thus elections are the democratic devices of exercising control over leaders and policies.

A second major function of elections is to provide opportunities and channels for political participation. Some degree of political participation is essential in any democratic system and this function of elections becomes central in modernizing mass societies.

Finally elections also fulfil the functions of support-building and system maintenance. A great many functions of elections could be included under the general captions of support-building and system maintenance. Among these are legitimacy, political stability, integration, identification, assimilation, involvement, commitment, mobilization etc.<sup>1</sup>

However these three functions of the elections, corresponding to the government, the voter and the system, are mainly carried through the instrument of political parties. Therefore, the relationship between the elections and the political parties is a close one in almost every type of political system. During elections parties are most prominently on display, or to put it another way, on trial. An election provides an unrivalled opportunity for parties to undergo the process of self-examination and for the voter to examine the organization, the personnel, and the policies of the par-

ties. Elections, in turn, are mechanisms which parties use to maintain their support bases and to establish links between the society, mainly non-political, and the political system, in which parties function and of which they are a part.<sup>2</sup>

Political parties group themselves into two categories: those which participate in elections and those which do not.<sup>3</sup> Such of those parties, which participate in elections, regard them from two different angles. Sometimes elections are regarded as no more than routine political exercises. But elections are also considered as the effective instruments of substantial socio-political changes.<sup>4</sup> Usually Leftists and Rightists consider elections unimportant while the Centrists place exceptional trust in the elections, as the balancer of the varied interests of the society and as the legitimate technique of resolving socio-political conflicts.<sup>5</sup>

How do regional parties regard the elections? Even among the regional parties, a few do not like to participate in elections. Those which participate divide themselves along the rightist, leftist and centrist lines. In practice many parties go along with the centrist path and the AIADMK also belongs to the centrist category.

In trying to understand the socio-political changes and policy measures of AIADMK, Section I of this chapter examines its electoral manifestoes. A narrative of the efforts and methods of AIADMK to increase the political participation is provided in Section II. Section III summarises the electoral history of AIADMK. Section IV offers a few important conclusions.

### *Section I: Manifestos of AIADMK*

Soon after the announcement of general elections or by-elections, the Election Committee of the AIADMK convenes itself to discuss candidates, political alliances and electoral strategies of the party. This committee has three important functions: (1) It advises and helps the party candidates with respect to their electoral problems, (2) It prepares the

election manifesto and releases it to the public; (3) it reviews the actual outcome of the elections and submits a report to the General Council for future course of action.<sup>6</sup>

So far the AIADMK placed six manifestos for the consideration of the public. It released its first manifesto on 29.4.73 in the wake of the by-election in Dindigul. The second manifesto was released on 14.2.77 during the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. The third manifesto during 1977 Legislative Assembly elections (30.4.77); the fourth manifesto during the 1980 Lok Sabha elections (7.12.79); and the fifth manifesto during 1980 Legislative Assembly elections (27.3.80) and the sixth manifesto during the 1984 Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.

All these manifestos exhibited the party's promises and policies in eight major areas. They are (1) Centre-State relations; (2) Language Policy; (3) Uplift of the backward communities; (4) Policies for economic progress; (5) Education; (6) Administration and Government Personnel; (7) Women and (8) Certain Civic Problems. The following is a brief summary of the policies of the AIADMK in the above-mentioned areas.

### 1. *Centre-State Relations*

The AIADMK considers that it is vital for the states to have residuary powers. Powerful states may conjoin to make up a powerful Centre. The smooth functioning of the States and the Centre, irrespective of the parties in power, may be achieved when the following maxim is understood in its true spirit: "We want neither dependence, nor Independence but interdependence."

### 2. *Language Policy*

The AIADMK believes that the respective languages of each region should be the official language of State governments and English must be the link language at the national

level. The AIADMK does not therefore accept the premise that Hindi alone should be treated as the lingua-franca of India. It resists any such move from any quarters.

### 3. *Uplift of the Backward Communities*

The AIADMK holds that man, who is born unfettered becomes a victim of the social order which thrives on customs, dogmas and orthodoxies. Hindu society promotes a peculiar ill known as casteism. To remove that evil and to aid the victims of that evil, the AIADMK wants to show some concessions in the shape of reservations in recruitment to government services and in educational opportunities. The AIADMK finds that there exists a few artificial distinctions in the reservation policy of the government. The party wants to remove all such disparities. The party wants to take special efforts in the rehabilitation of Hill tribes and Nomads and Bonded Labourers.

### 4. *Economic Progress*

The AIADMK wants to pay equal attention to agriculture and to industry to ensure a co-ordinated and balanced economic progress of Tamil Nadu. It is the endeavour of the AIADMK to subsidise the farmers with agricultural necessities. The party also helps the farmers in the redemption of their debts. It makes sufficient safeguards to ensure a minimum monthly income for them. As regards industrial labour, the AIADMK wants to strive for five day week, need based minimum wage, housing, security against accidents and ill-health, and several changes in the Industrial Disputes Act. The AIADMK wants to pay special attention to the problems of the Weavers, Goldsmiths, Fishermen and unemployed youth and others.

### 5. *Education*

The AIADMK holds that the opportunities for educa-

tion should be enlarged to cover all sections of the population. It wants education to be free upto the degree level. On completion of a course, every student must be given a job or an unemployment allowance. It wants to provide part-time jobs to poor students. As part of improving the educational system, the AIADMK wants to pay the teachers well. Also Rural Education and Vocational Education gets top priority from the party.

#### 6. *Administration and Government Personnel*

The AIADMK observes that glaring instances of abuse of power at various levels of administration committed by partymen to enable their friends and relatives to obtain jobs and other benefits, have been the reasons for the large scale corruption in the administration. To remove the erring officials and to set right the administration, the party wants to set up an enquiry commission. At the same time the party is enthusiastic in helping government servants with regard to their genuine grievances. In that context, the AIADMK will make special efforts to solve the problems faced by the Police Department.

#### 7. *Women*

The AIADMK appreciates the role of women in society as the teachers who mould the character of men. But the party is pained to note the degradation that had occurred in the status of women. The AIADMK wants to bear this in mind while planning for their useful avocation. The party considers that women should be given adequate representation in the policy-making bodies by making necessary changes in law. Educational institutions, social securities, and employment facilities must be made available to women according to their special needs and earnest aspirations.

8. *Civic Problems*

Local government in Tamil Nadu has been facing severe problems from the late sixties. Their finances, personnel and management have all gone astray. To ensure the proper functioning of those bodies and to put them back on an even keel, the AIADMK wants to give more powers to local institutions. Also the party wants to bring about some changes in the methods of representation for the same purpose, viz., the Presidents of Panchayats and not by an electoral assembly.

Madras, the Capital of Tamil Nadu, faces several problems of civil amenities. AIADMK wants to strive hard to remove all these hurdles in the smooth conduct of day to-day life.

*Section II: Electoral Propaganda*

In Tamil Nadu elections have clearly been a major channel of political participation, which has been impressive in extent and in operation. In the rural areas elections are observed as if they are festive occasions. They take many forms and varies greatly both in form and in spirit. Those activities are designed to influence decision-making which are carried on within the political system. They are legitimate and exclude violence on almost all occasions.<sup>7</sup>

Voting is by far the most common form of political participation but there are many other forms too, which may be listed under four levels: Apathetics, Spectator activities, Transitional activities and Gladiatorial activities. That is, these activities correspond to the non-voter, peripheral voter, interested voter and partymen functions.<sup>8</sup> Canvassing, raising money, organizing meetings and rallies, participating in processions, distribution of campaign literature, becoming a member of a political party, voting, being a candidate for office and holding offices in the party or in

the Government form the range in the index of political participation.

It is to increase these activities — i.e. to commit the voter to more activity and to retain the commitment of the already converted voter — the AIADMK propagates through all known forms of mass communication. Though this aim of the AIADMK is incidental, the party and the participation have become mutually influential. Consequently it becomes easy for the AIADMK to propagate its ideals to the willing participator.<sup>10</sup>

The following techniques are used by the AIADMK to influence the party worker and the public alike during electioneering.<sup>11</sup>

1. Small Public Meetings
2. Postering
3. Wall Writings
4. Wall Drawings
5. Leafleteering
6. Submitting Memoranda to the authorities concerned
7. Press Conferences
8. Issuing Statements to the Press
9. Short speeches through mobile loud speakers
10. Processions
11. Celebrating the birthday or death anniversary of a leader.
12. Broadcasts through Radio.
13. Telecasts
14. Narrative Songs — *Villu Pattu*
15. Arranging for propaganda by means of playing the cinema dialogues and songs throughout the day and the night, for weeks together.
16. Playing party songs
17. Door-to-door canvassing
18. Display of party symbols
19. Display of huge banners and cut-outs of the leaders
20. Dancing and merry-making at the street corner

21. Free cinema through touring vans
22. Wearing party symbols on the body
23. Making dresses with the colours of the party flag
24. Display of banners depicting the misdeeds of other parties
25. Writing letters and articles in the party magazines and other journals
26. Offering interviews
27. Conducting exhibitions
28. Propaganda through dramas
29. Providing jeeps and cars to the voters
30. Distribution of sweets and prizes to voters
31. Distribution of essential commodities to the people
32. Small processions by children etc.

In such audio, visual and audio-visual practices of mass communication, MGR simply excels.<sup>12</sup> He has several idiosyncracies of his own while electioneering. He reaches public meetings even in the small hours of the mornings, tours throughout the day and the night with little repose, hugs a old woman, christens a baby, kisses a sweet child, accepts garlands throughout, garlands everybody without hesitation, expresses his courtesy first to women, drinks aerated waters with all, makes references of his poverty in his early life etc.

Because of the spirited activity by the partymen and by the characteristic appeal of MGR, the AIADMK has been able to mobilise people and make them participate in the elections in a big way. The general trend of percentage of votes polled in a constituency is more than 60 per cent in general elections and it is more than 74 per cent in all by-elections.<sup>13</sup>

### *Section III: Electoral History of AIADMK*

#### *(i) Dindigul By-election*

By-elections provide the ruling parties the scope for testing their strength and reaffirming the loyalties of its



supporters. They provide the opposition equally with the scope to undermine the foundations of the ruling party by criticising their failures, and to project themselves as the future political alternatives.

Even though MGR split the DMK and founded a party of his own (AIADMK) in October, 1972, the DMK leadership was unruffled by this act. The DMK cabinet remained intact and very few of the top leaders joined the AIADMK. It seemed that the AIADMK could be dismissed as being of no more consequence like the now defunct Tamil Nationalist Party of E.V.K. Sampath.<sup>14</sup>

The Dindigul Parliamentary constituency was won by the DMK in 1967 and was retained by it in 1971 too. The death of Rajangam, the sitting M.P. belonging to the DMK, led to the announcement of a by-election in the constituency on 20.5.73. Immediately, the AIADMK announced its decision to contest the elections. The constituency was dominated by a particular caste (Piramalai Kallars) and had a large number of women voters. The contest involved all four of Tamil Nadu's major political parties, the DMK, AIADMK, Congress (O) and Congress (R). The DMK spent much time, money and men on this election. Practically every minister was involved and two ministers were present at all times during the election campaign. The by-election was a prestige question for the DMK. The leader of the Congress (O), K. Kamaraj, was also concerned about the by-election because the defeat would end the career of party forever. The AIADMK wanted a swift victory to show the people its capacity to form a government in the future.

In this contest the AIADMK had considerable advantages. Its candidate, Maya Thevar, belonged to the majority community of the area. The DMK had never effectively penetrated in the South and Dindigul was one such place. Much party propaganda was done by MGR and his associates for a considerable period manipulating his movie image. MGR also poignantly requested the people to

accept the rewards offered by the DMK and yet be considerate to elect his party's nominee. Further, during the election campaign, Arumugam (the party's Deputy Secretary of Vattalagundu town) was alleged to have been killed by the DMK men. Also some dissatisfied volunteers of the DMK worked against their party.

The AIADMK capitalised on all these advantages and won the by-election by polling 52% of the total votes. The Congress (O) was second, the DMK third and Congress (R) a very poor fourth. The following table illustrates the outcome of the by-election.

TABLE I

*Dindigul (Parliamentary) By-election<sup>25</sup>*

Total Electorate	6,43,704
Votes Polled	5,05,253
K. Maya Thevar (AIADMK)	2,60,930
N.S.V. Chinthan (Congress O)	1,19,032
Pon. Muthuramalingam (DMK)	93,496
K. Cheemaisamy (Congress R)	11,423
N. Suriyamuthu (Independent)	9,342
P. Sethurama Thevar (Independent)	695
Govindaswamy (Independent)	687
C.A. Varada Desigan (Independent)	502
D.V. Anganna Chettiar (Independent)	448
Invalid	8,698

Dindigul proved a wholesome influence on the future of Tamil Nadu Politics. The DMK was discredited by the people. The Congress (O) and the Congress (R) were made to learn that their political weight was very little. The victory of AIADMK in the first ever elections it had faced, with a percentage more than the sum of the percentage obtained by other parties, had shown that the drama and the cinema happened to be the sure media for winning popula-

rity for a political party, as also the fact that a new political development for Tamil Nadu was in the offing.

(ii) *Coimbatore By-elections*

In less than a year since its victory in May 1978 at Dindigul, the AIADMK was offered further chances to prove its mettle. S. Baladandayutham, M.P. from Coimbatore constituency belonging to the CPI, died in a plane crash necessitating a by-election on February 24, 1974.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise Gopal, the DMK member of the Legislative Assembly from Coimbatore (West) constituency had also died earlier. The by-election was also scheduled on February 24, 1974.

In both the by-elections the DMK plunged straight-away and it did not care to form any electoral alliance. But the AIADMK sought for possible allies, probably to re-enact the drama staged by the DMK in 1967. As a measure of electoral adjustment with the CPI, the AIADMK agreed to contest only for the Assembly. The CPI, in turn, agreed to contest the parliamentary seat only. As before, the Congress (O) proceeded to go through it alone.

The DMK was frantic to retain the Assembly seat and to win the parliamentary seat from the CPI. Congress (O) was hoping for a new lease of life again. The AIADMK made careful plans, along with the CPI, and conducted its campaigns in a methodical and appealing manner.

The result of the Parliamentary constituency was on the expected lines. Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan of CPI had won the seat.<sup>17</sup>

The victory of the AIADMK was also a foregone conclusion. Its candidate C. Aranganayagam pulled off a splendid victory amidst heavy competition. The DMK's strategy of asking the wife of the deceased MLA to contest the elections did not pay off. The AIADMK's victory was as under:

## TABLE II

*Coimbatore West (Assembly) By-election<sup>18</sup>*

Total Electorate	93,360
Total votes polled	70,183
C. Aranganayagam (AIADMK)	25,183
Jaganathan (Congress O)	24,877
Mrs. Krishnaveni Gopal (DMK)	16,086
Narayanaswami (Independent)	175
Manickam (Independent)	600
Joseph (Independent)	692
Invalid	2,349

(iii) *Pondicherry Elections*

The DMK—CPI Coalition ministry installed in November, 1969 in Pondicherry fell within three weeks of assuming office. President's rule was in force there till the elections were scheduled on February 24, 1974. Also the death of Mohan Kumaramangalam, M.P. from Pondicherry caused the holding of the by-election on the same date.<sup>19</sup>

The AIADMK, the DMK and the Congress (O) entered the election fray immediately. The DMK and the Congress (O) wanted to test their fortunes independently. But the AIADMK extended its alliance with the CPI, which was forged for the Coimbatore by-elections, to Pondicherry also. The CPI agreed to the proposal of AIADMK that its sharing of seats in the 30 member Pondicherry assembly would be 7/30. The CPI also agreed to the AIADMK contesting the parliamentary seat.

Normally elections in Pondicherry do not affect the political development in Tamil Nadu. But the 1974 elections in Pondicherry assumed more significance. It was because the AIADMK was facing a trial of strength against the powerful opponents, the DMK and the Congress (O) as a prelude to the up-coming Sixth General Elections.

In his propaganda the Congress (O) leader, K. Kamaraj attacked the AIADMK-CPI combine as unprincipled coalition and characterized the DMK and the AIADMK organizations as the "two bowls floating in a disused pond". The AIADMK picked up the DMK for castigation, leaving the Congress (O) as a weak competitor. For its part, the DMK was forced to keep both the Congress (O) and the AIADMK at bay.

The success story of the AIADMK continued in the parliamentary by-election. Its candidate Bala Pazhanoor won the elections as detailed below:

TABLE III

*Pondicherry (Parliamentary) By-election<sup>20</sup>*

Total Electorate	2,63,743
Votes polled	2,25,335
Arvinda Bala Pazhanoor (AIADMK)	83,362
S. Sivaprakasam Congress (O)	72,244
N. Rajaram (DMK)	47,250
R. Somasundram (Independent)	3,620
G. Rangasamy (Independent)	3,219
Ramayya (Independent)	2,416
Elango (Independent)	794
Invalid votes	7,430

But the Assembly elections produced a conflicting picture and consequently created political instability. It was a triumph for the AIADMK for it had won more than it had anticipated. The DMK and the Congress (O) were directed again. The AIADMK formed a coalition ministry headed by S. Ramasamy in Pondicherry on the basis of its victory in 12 seats. The results of the Assembly Elections were:

TABLE IV

*Pondicherry (Legislative Assembly) Elections<sup>21</sup>*

Parties	No. of Seats contested	No. of Seats won	Percentage of votes obtained
AIADMK	23	12	26.00
DMK	26	2	20.36
Congress (O)	16	5	18.35
Congress (R)	14	7	15.36
CPI	7	2	9.06
CPI (M)	4	1	4.34

*(iv) Sixth General Elections to Parliament*

Although there was no electoral alliance between the AIADMK and the Congress (R) in the phase between Dindigul and Pondicherry, a new relationship began to burgeon between them during the Emergency. The AIADMK and the CPI supported the Emergency and the 20 point programme vigorously. Based on the petition submitted by the AIADMK and the CPI, the DMK ministry was dismissed in February 1976 and the Sarkaria Commission of Enquiry was appointed to go into the corruption charges levelled on the DMK. This led to the breaking of electoral alliance between the Congress (R) and the DMK, which was fondly built up by Karunanidhi.<sup>22</sup>

The Fifth Lok Sabha was dissolved on January 18, 1977 and the president of India issued a notification on February 10, 1977 calling for fresh elections for the constitution of the Sixth Lok Sabha. The dates of the poll for Tamil Nadu were fixed on March 16 and 19, 1977.<sup>23</sup>

For the parliamentary elections in Tamil Nadu, there was a stiff contest between two electoral alliances, namely,

the progressive Front and the Democratic Front. The progressive Front consisted of the AIADMK, Congress (R), CPI, Tamil Nadu Muslim League, Revolutionary Forward Bloc, Backward Classes Progressive Federation, and the Tamil Nadu Toiler's party. The Democratic Front consisted of the DMK, Janata and the CPI (M).

The partners of the progressive Front i. e., the AIADMK, the Congress (R), CPI, and the Tamil Nadu Muslim League apportioned among themselves the 39 seats in the ratio of 20: 15: 3: 1 respectively. The Democratic Front agreed for 15 seats for the DMK, 18 seats for the Janata 2 for the CPI (M). The seat adjustment in the progressive Front was smooth and efficient while it was a protracted bargaining affair in the Democratic Front.<sup>24</sup>

MGR promised the people of Tamil Nadu that the AIADMK would strive for the realization of the ideals of C.N. Annadurai. His diatribe on the Democratic front was severe. On the other hand the DMK was forced to go on the defensive on the issues of corruption and prohibition. Its problems were confounded when the Janata Party refused to work actively. The entire country was agog and brimming with enthusiasm over the formation of the Janata Party but that mood was remarkably absent in Tamil Nadu. Further, most of the leaders of the Janata Party in Tamil Nadu were the leaders of the erstwhile Congress (O) whom Karunanidhi sought to destroy one by one from 1967. The result was that an uneasy relationship existed among the constituents of the Democratic Front. On the other hand, the Progressive Front was having a perfect electoral understanding.<sup>25</sup>

An uncertain atmosphere prevailed about the outcome of these parliamentary elections in Tamil Nadu. In the Democratic Front, the Janata Party was welcome throughout the nation but the DMK was nursing its wounds. In the Progressive Front the AIADMK was welcome throughout Tamil Nadu but the Congress (R) was looked at askance for its excesses during the emergency.

The results of the 1977 parliamentary elections were truly astounding.<sup>36</sup> The Progressive Front carried the day with 35 wins. The DMK won just one seat and the Janata in three constituencies. Probably it was the weight of the AIADMK that was responsible for the clean sweep of the polls. The following table brings out the salient features of the 1977 parliamentary elections in Tamil Nadu.

TABLE V

*Lok Sabha Elections, 1977<sup>37</sup>*

Parties	No. of seats contested	No. of valid votes polled	Percentage of the total votes polled	No. of seats won
AIADMK	20	54,63,741	30.60	18
DMK	19	32,24,654	18.05	1
Janata	18	31,56,116	17.67	3
Congress (R)	15	39,77,306	22.27	14
CPI	3	8,22,233	4.60	3
CPI (M)	2	2,79,081	1.56	Nil

*(v) Sixth General Elections to the Legislative Assembly*

After achieving power at the Centre, the Janata Party dismissed the Congress (R) Ministries in eight states. Elections in these states, together for Tamil Nadu, were ordered on May 11, 1977. The polling was fixed on June 12, and 14, 1977.<sup>38</sup>

As was the case with the Parliamentary elections, two fronts emerged in Tamil Nadu in the wake of the Assembly elections. The progressive Front was headed by the AIADMK. Its partners were: The Tamil Nadu Muslim League, the National Forward Bloc, the Toiler's Progressive Party, and the CPI (M). This time the Congress (R) did not join the Progressive Front. It was because the split in the Congress (R) into Congress (I) led by Mrs. Gandhi and



Congress (U) led by Devaraj Urs had complicated the electoral understandings. Therefore, the Congress (I) and the CPI formed the second front in Tamil Nadu. The Janata Party and the DMK wanted to contest the elections on their individual strength.

Of the 234 seats in the Assembly, the AIADMK opted to contest 200 leaving 20 seats to the CPI (M), 6 to the Forward Bloc and the rest to other partners. The DMK contested in 230 constituencies and Congress (I) in 198. The Janata Party competed in all the 233 seats.

Among the two Fronts, the one that was led by the Congress (I) was very weak.<sup>29</sup> Although 14 members of the Parliament were already in the bag of the Congress (I), the going was tough for it because of the recent split in its ranks. In the progressive front, only the AIADMK was showing the lead for all others. Janata Party relying on the strength of its power at the centre. The DMK was fighting desperately to win the elections, especially when its morale was so low after the parliamentary poll.<sup>30</sup> There were expectations among the public about the possible victory for the AIADMK. The following Table shows the outcome of the Assembly Elections.

TABLE VI

*Legislative Assembly Elections, 1977<sup>31</sup>*

Parties	Total No. of contested	No. of valid votes polled	Percentage of votes polled	No. of seats won
AIADMK	200	51,94,876	30.37	126
DMK	230	42,58,771	24.89	48
Congress (R)	198	29,94,535	17.51	27
Janata	233	28,51,884	16.66	10
CPI	32	4,96,955	2.91	5
CPI (M)	20	4,77,835	2.79	12

(vi) *Pondicherry (Assembly) Elections*

The dismissal of S. Ramaswamy's ministry in 1974, for want of majority in the Pondicherry Assembly, made the political situation unstable in the Union Territory. The President's rule in Pondicherry was sought to be removed along with the Assembly Elections in Tamil Nadu on June 14, 1977.<sup>83</sup>

For fighting these elections, no alliances emerged among the major political parties, perhaps reflecting the trend that was existing in Tamil Nadu. The Congress (I) and the CPI shared the 30 seats in the ratio of 24:6. The AIADMK, Janata and the DMK contested in all the 30 seats.

The result of the elections again did not remove the political instability. Final results of this election were:

TABLE VII

*Pondicherry (Assembly) Elections<sup>83</sup>*

Parties	No. of seats contested	No. of seats won
AIADMK	30	14 <sup>1</sup>
DMK	30	3 <sup>1</sup>
Janata	30	7
Congress (I)	24	2
CPI	6	1
Independents	30	3

With the help of the Independents and support of the Janata Party from outside, the AIADMK ministry was sworn in on July 2, 1977. S. Ramasamy became the Chief Minister again. But due to lack of understanding between S. Ramasamy and D. Ramachandran again the ministry fell and Pondicherry was brought under President's rule on November 12, 1978.

(vii) *Thanjavur and Nagapattinam (Parliamentary) By-elections*

The resignation of his parliamentary seat by S.D. Soma-sundaram from Thanjavur, and the death of S.G. Murugai-yan, M.P. from Nagapattinam (SC) Constituency, caused the by-elections in these constituencies on June 17, 1979.<sup>34</sup>

Prior to the announcement of the by-elections, Mrs. Gandhi expressed her desire to return to the Parliament from Thanjavur constituency. MGR proceeded to New Delhi for consultations with Mrs. Gandhi on the question of the electoral adjustment. After his meeting with Mrs. Gandhi, MGR also paid a courtesy call on Prime Minister Morarji Desai between 7.30 and 9.30 p.m. on 19.5.79. During the meeting Desai asked MGR to spell out the latter's relationship with the centre in clear out words like 'friend, foe or a neutralist'.<sup>35</sup> When MGR met Mrs. Gandhi the next day, he refused his party's co-operation to Mrs. Gandhi's candidature from Thanjavur on the pretext that it would create a serious law and order problem for the state and personal problems to Mrs. Gandhi herself as was her experiences at Madurai in 1978.<sup>36</sup> The enraged Mrs. Gandhi did not file her nomination and began to be indifferent towards the AIADMK.

• To keep the Congress (I) in good humour, MGR did not announce his party's candidate for Thanjavur constituency and said that he would personally work for the victory of the Congress (I) candidate. At Nagapattinam the AIADMK contested with the CPI. The course, results and the implications of these elections were intriguing. MGR achieved what he had said. The Congress (I) had won its seat at Thanjavur but the AIADMK had lost its competition to the CPI at Nagapattinam. The results of the by-elections were as follows:

## TABLE VIII

*Thanjavur (Parliamentary) By-election<sup>87</sup>*

Total Electorate	6,58,855
Votes Polled	5,47,582
Singaravadivel (Congress I)	3,09,868
Anbil P. Dharamalingam (DMK)	2,17,020
M. Ramaiah (Independent)	2,169
T.V. Anganna Chettiar (Independent)	2,158
Kulumaiyan (Independent)	1,355
S. Chinnaian (Independent)	1,279
M. Anwar Kussain (Independent)	1,030
V. Sundararajan (Independent)	961
D.A. Thangasamy Nadar (Independent)	902
L. Seshadri Iyer (Independent)	880
Rangasami (Independent)	617
O.A. Varadadesikan (Independent)	486

## TABLE IX

*Nagapattinam (Parliamentary) By-election<sup>88</sup>*

Total electorate	6,82,750
Votes Polled	5,71,574
K. Murugaiyan (CPI)	2,88,000
M. Mahalingam (AIADMK)	2,72,059
A. Panneer Selvam (Independent)	2,200
V.M. Immanuel Ramaraj (Independent)	1,141

(viii) *Seventh Lok Sabha Elections*

The AIADMK's hesitation to support Mrs. Gandhi's candidature from Thanjavur and its subsequent participa-

tion in the coalition Ministry headed by Charan Singh at the Centre added a new emotive force to the growing estrangement between the AIADMK and the Congress (I). The Congress did not wish to participate any further in the coalitions to be built up by the AIADMK.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile the Sixth Lok Sabha was dissolved on August 22, 1979. The President issued the notification for electing the Seventh Lok Sabha on December 3, 1979. The dates of poll were scheduled on January 3 and 6, 1980.<sup>40</sup>

The announcement caused the formation of two fronts among the major parties of Tamil Nadu. Apparently Mrs. Gandhi thought that it would be no longer advisable to rely on the lukewarm support by the AIADMK and so she plumped for an alliance with the DMK. In the DMK Front, the DMK, the Congress (I) and the Muslim League shared the Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry Lok Sabha Seats (Total:40), in the ratio of 16:23:1. In the second front headed by the AIADMK, Janata, CPI, CPI (M), Congress (U), Lok Dal, Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress and a few other parties became alliance partners. The AIADMK, Janata, CPI, and the CPI (M) contested in 24:9:3:3 seats respectively.<sup>41</sup>

There was uneasiness in the AIADMK at the growing separation between the Congress (I) and itself. The AIADMK could not go all out to condemn the opposition front. But there was jubilation in the DMK about the revival of the old friendship of 1971.

As in the 1977 parliamentary elections, the results of this dual was also uncertain. The DMK went on a running spree, hard hitting the AIADMK. People's antipathy to the Janata Party and their sympathy to Mrs. Gandhi were additional credits for the DMK front. Therefore it emerged victorious in the Parliamentary elections, the tally of which was as follows:

TABLE X

*Seventh Lok Sabha Elections, 1980<sup>43</sup>*

Parties	Total No. of seats contested	Total No. of Seats won
AIADMK	24	2
DMK	16	16
Congress I	23	20
Janata	9	Nil
CPI	3	Nil
CPI (M)	3	Nil
Muslim League	1	1

*(ix) Pondicherry Assembly Elections*

To remove President's rule in Pondicherry, which was existing since November 1978, elections were ordered there along with the Seventh Parliamentary Elections.

The Fronts operating in Tamil Nadu agreed to extend their activity in Pondicherry also. The DMK Front led the Congress (I) and Muslim League. The AIADMK Front led the CPI, CPI (M) Janata and other minor partners. The electoral distribution in the DMK Front was: DMK 16, Congress (I) 12, and the Muslim League. 2. AIADMK contested in 20, Janata in 5, CPI in 3 and CPI (M) in 2.<sup>43</sup>

The rout which the AIADMK faced in the parliamentary elections was repeated here too. Morarji Desai's announcement that Pondicherry will be merged with Tamil Nadu and the AIADMK's desire to introduce prohibition may be reasons for their defeat. The following table explains the disastrous defeat of the AIADMK.

TABLE XI

*Pondicherry Assembly Elections<sup>44</sup>*

Parties	Total No. of seats contested	Total No. of seats won
AIADMK	20	Nil
Janata	5	3
CPI	3	Nil
CPI (M)	2	1
DMK	16	14
Congress (I)	12	10
Muslim League	2	1
Independents	214	1

A coalition ministry under the Chief Ministership of D. Ramachandran (belonging to the DMK) was sworn in on January 16, 1980.

(x) *Panamarathupatti and other Assembly By—elections*

The death of N. Subbarayan in the Panamarathupatti constituency in the Salem District caused a by-election on 6. 1. 80. The two fronts of Tamil Nadu extended their activities here too.

In the AIADMK front, the leader chose himself for the contest. The DMK was the competitor from the other front and the dual between the two was stiff. The victory for Rajaram was a slight solace to the AIADMK, which had been badly mauled in the elections to the parliament and the Pondicherry Assembly.

Likewise, in the Vilavancode Assembly constituency, the death of Gnanasigamony, caused a by election on 6.1.80. In this, the poll ally of AIADMK, the CPI (M) had won the seat.

Also, Mookiah Thevar's death resulted in a by election at the Usilampatti Assembly constituency on 6.1.80. Here the All India Forward Bloc retained its seat and the AIADMK obtained the second rank.

TABLE XII

*By-election Results<sup>45</sup>*

Constituency	Winner	Successful Name of the Candidate	Votes obtained
Panamarathupatti	AIADMK	K. Rajaram	29,618
Vilavancode	CPI (M)	Pakiadhas	26,408
Usilampatti	AIFB	Andi Thevar	29,235

*(xi) Seventh Assembly Elections in Tamil Nadu*

Repeating the precedent set by Charan Singh, Mrs Gandhi also chose to dismiss the Janata Ministries in various states. Largely at the instance of the DMK, the AIADMK ministry and the Tamil Nadu Assembly were dismissed and President's rule was clamped on February 18, 1980. Subsequently elections were fixed for the Seventh Assembly on May 28 and 31, 1980.<sup>46</sup>

To fight the elections the AIADMK formed a 12 party alliance. Janata, CPI, CPI (M), Congress (U), Lok Dal, Gandhi Kamaraj National Congress, Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress, Republican party, DK, Toiler's party, All India Democratic Christian Front and the AIADMK were forced to put their heads together to avert the rising tendencies of authoritarianism. This front apportioned the 234 seats of the Assembly in this manner. AIADMK, 177; CPI 16; CPI (M) 16; GKNC 10; FB 5; TNKC 7; and Congress (U) 3.

The opposing front, consisting of the DMK, Congress (I) and the Muslim League, shared the seats in the ratio of 109: 109: 16; but in the final tally the contest was geared form 114: 112:8 seats.



The AIADMK made all out efforts to get through the elections. The DMK, which had influenced the Congress (I) in the meantime to scrap the findings of the Sarkaria Commission of Enquiry, was also promised the Chief Ministership in case their front achieved the majority.<sup>47</sup> The DMK was obviously optimistic.<sup>48</sup> But the people of Tamil Nadu opted for the rule of the AIADMK for the second time. The AIADMK which obtained the absolute majority, formed the ministry under the chief ministership of M. G. Ramachandran on June 9, 1980.<sup>49</sup>

TABLE XIII

*Seventh Assembly Elections in Tamil Nadu*<sup>50</sup>

Parties	Seats contested	Seats won	Percentage of valid votes polled
AIADMK	177	130	38.91
CPM	16	11	3.12
CPI	16	10	2.82
GKNC	10	6	1.71
FB	6	3	0.93
TNKC	7	3	1.48
Congress (U)	3	Nil	0.27
DMK	114	38	22.32
Congress (I)	112	30	20.73
M.L.	8	1	1.42

*(xii) Thirupattur (Assembly) By-election*

The Thirupattur seat fell vacant following the death of Volinila, a Congress (I) member.<sup>51</sup> Immediately the Congress (I) had put up its candidate for the by-election on

29.11.1981 and also appealed for the support from all political parties and all sections of the people of Tamil Nadu. Probably to woo the Congress (I), the AIADMK advanced a strange thesis, in a statement issued on November 7, 1981. The statement said, "Excepting the vacancies arising through the verdict of the Courts, in other cases the party which won the seat in the previous election should be supported by all concerned."<sup>52</sup> This statement was avowedly welcomed by Mrs. Gandhi and her party. The DMK was in a strange predicament and it did not want to disturb its electoral relationship of 1980. Therefore the DMK did not contest. All other parties of Tamil Nadu agreed to work for the CPI candidate.

With the DMK's hesitation, and the AIADMK's support, the result could not be otherwise: the Congress (I) nominee R. Arunagiri won the election by a huge margin of votes. The results of the election were as follows:

TABLE XIV

*Thirupathur (Assembly) By election<sup>53</sup>*

Total Electorate	:	1,16,123
Total votes polled	:	79,460
R. Arunagiri (Congress I)	:	42,670
T.S.S. Thirumal (Janata)	:	17,608
V.R. Shanmugasundaram (CPI)	:	11,515
Andiappan (Independent)	:	1,663
Mrs. Sakuntala (Independent)	:	1,309
K. Govindan (Independent)	:	933
R. Ramakrishna Reddy (Independent)	:	584
V.R. Veerappa Gounder (Independent)	:	386
A. Rajendran (Independent)	:	374
A. Mani (Independent)	:	288
M. Kulandaivelu (Independent)	:	260
E. Jagannath (Independent)	:	153
Invalid Votes	:	1,404

(xiii) *Periakulam (Parliamentary) By election*

The death of Cumbam Natarajan, DMK member necessitated a by-election in the Periakulam (Parliamentary) constituency on September 26, 1982.

The AIADMK, the DMK and the Congress (I) were all motivated to have the seat in their bags. Though the AIADMK asked for its support, the Congress (I) was not willing to do so. For its part, the DMK was forced to make fresh efforts to turn a new lease of life in Tamil Nadu. With these developments, Periakulam became a place for a battle of giants. It is alleged that an amount of one crore was spent on Periakulam campaign.<sup>54</sup> In the final count the AIADMK wrested the constituency from the DMK. The results of the by-election were:

TABLE XV

*Periakulam (Parliamentary) By-election<sup>55</sup>*

Total Electorate	:	7,66,027
Total Votes Polled	:	5,42,326
S.T.K. Jakkayan (AIADMK)	:	2,49,000
C. Ramakrishnan (DMK)	:	1,80,000
Shaikh Abdul Khader (Congress I)	:	29,900
Abdul Wahab (CPI — M)	:	13,460

(xiv) *Thiruchendur (Assembly) By-election*

The AIADMK's representative from Thiruchendur Constituency Kesava Aditan, died in an accident on the same day (26.11.82) in which the second death anniversary of one Subramania Pillai was mourned. Subramania Pillai was the verification officer of the H.R. & C.E. department at Thiruchendur. As he sought to prevent misuse of public

offering that were collected from 'Hundies', and as quarrel between the trustees and himself ensued. Subramania Pillai was found dead on the temple premises. The Government appointed the Justice Paul Commission of enquiry to go into circumstances of the death of Subramania Pillai but did not publish the report for a long time. The report was leaked to the Assembly and the public by the DMK. Also, Karunanidhi led a 'Padayatra' from Madurai to Thiruchendur to demand action against those responsible for the death of Pillai. In such circumstances of mutual acrimony the by-election for that constituency was slated for February 27, 1983.<sup>56</sup>

To defend the late Aditan and its own prestige, the AIADMK proceeded straightaway to contest the election, without waiting for the electoral alliances. To demand 'Justice' and to refurbish its image, the DMK got into the field with all its might. The Congress (I) and the Janata Party also fielded their candidates.

In an edge-of-the-seat finals, the ruling AIADMK retained the Assembly seat defeating the DMK by a margin of 1710 votes. And as if to rub salt into the DMK's wounds MGR said that 'Justice' had triumphed at Thiruchendur.<sup>57</sup> The following are the results of this by-election.

## TABLE XVI

### *Thiruchendur (Assembly) By-election<sup>58</sup>*

Total Electorate	1,02,681
Total Votes Polled	81,788
R. Amirtharaj (AIADMK)	32,650
Nedumaran (DMK)	30,940
S.K. Chandrasekaran (Congress I)	8,307
Jebamani (Janata)	3,326
Muthu (GKNC)	4,828

*Eighth General Elections to the Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly (1984) in Tamil Nadu*

In the eighth General Elections of 1984, there was a stiff contest between two electoral alliances, namely, the AIADMK front and the DMK front for the Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly elections in Tamil Nadu. The AIADMK front consisted of AIADMK, Indian National Congress (I), Gandhi-Kamaraj National Congress, All India Forward Bloc and Republican Party of India (Gawai). The DMK front consisted of DMK, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata, Indian Union Muslim League, Tamil Nadu Forward Bloc, Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress and Peasants and Workers Party.

Of the 232 seats<sup>59</sup> in the Assembly, the AIADMK agreed to contest 153 leaving 71 seats to the Congress (I), 4 to GKNC, 3 to AIFB, one to RPI (K). For Parliament, out of 38 seats, AIADMK opted to contest 12, leaving 25 to Congress (I) and one to GKNC.

For the Assembly elections, the DMK front, namely, the DMK, CPI (M), Janata, CPI, IUML, TNFB, TKNC and PWP apportioned among themselves the 232 seats as follows: 156:17:17:16:6:3:7:10 respectively. For Parliament, the DMK contested in 25 seats, leaving 5 to Janata, 3 each to CPI (M) and CPI, one each to IUML and TNKC.

An uncertain atmosphere prevailed about the outcome of the elections in Tamil Nadu. For the AIADMK front, its charismatic leader MGR was ten thousand miles away in New York's Brooklyn Downstate Hospital for medical treatment. Earlier Mrs. Gandhi had been assassinated. In the DMK front, M. Karunanidhi was not contesting the elections and he was able to go to every constituency in support of his front candidates. As far as the Parliamentary elections were concerned the question was who will give a stable and strong government at the Centre. The AIADMK front was able to answer firmly that the Congress was the only party able to form a stable government at the Centre. But, for the

Assembly elections, the question was whether ailing MGR will be able to return to Tamil Nadu to form the government? The AIADMK and its leaders argued that MGR was recovering fast and coming back to Tamil Nadu as Chief Minister soon. In support of this argument the AIADMK took recourse to video cassettes and showed to the people — the improvement of MGR's health at New York, throughout Tamil Nadu and convinced the voters that MGR will be the Chief Minister of the AIADMK when voted back to power. The picture of the ailing MGR raising his famous Churchillian 'V' sign in the posters were displayed in every nook and corner of all constituencies in Tamil Nadu. The nutritious noon meal scheme introduced by MGR's government played a great role in the elections. Even M. Karunanidhi who had criticised the scheme when it was introduced had no other alternative but to promise that he would implement it effectively, if he is elected to power.

Throughout the elections, the founder of the AIADMK was in New York, he even filed his nomination from there. MGR could not go over to his constituency or to any one's constituency throughout the electioneering process. The AIADMK also had to defend it from the attacks of the recalcitrant and runaway members of the party. The first to attack the AIADMK was the newly started party by name 'Namadhu Kazhagam' by the former Revenue Minister of the AIADMK government and erstwhile colleague of MGR, S.D. Somasundaram. His allegations of corruption in the AIADMK did not succeed. Likewise S.S. Rajendran, who had won the 1980 Assembly election with highest margin in Tamil Nadu, rebelled against the AIADMK and formed a new party on the eve of the 1984 elections and named it 'MGR—SSR Puratchi Kazhagam'.<sup>60</sup>

It is ironical that whenever MGR happened to be in the hospital his party had won. In 1967, when MGR was in hospital the DMK had achieved its first electoral victory. In both the elections (1967 and 1984) MGR filed his nomination from hospital and won the elections with highest mar-

gin of votes in Tamil Nadu.<sup>61</sup> In these two elections (1967 and 1984) ailing MGR played a major role in electoral victory for his party and the picture of hospitalized MGR had been displayed in all the constituencies in Tamil Nadu.

The AIADMK front in Tamil Nadu swept the polls winning 198 of the 232 Assembly seats and 37 out of the 38 Lok Sabha seats for which the elections were held. Consequently, the AIADMK for the third time, has been enthroned in Tamil Nadu, returning with its highest-ever election majority. The AIADMK with 133 members, is comfortably placed back on the saddle. Out of the 153 seats contested, it won in 133 — a whopping 86 per cent success, a rate which is comparable only to the united DMK's 90 per cent victory rate in 1971 when it secured 184 out of 203 seats contested. The AIADMK's ally for this election, the Congress (I) contesting 71 seats, has won 62 seats, a strength it never had in the Assembly since losing power in 1967. Ironically the Congress (I) will be the main opposition party while the DMK, after two decades, has been pushed to the ignominious third position. The party which had fielded the largest number of candidates for this election—156, managed only a paltry 20. It was no less ignominy for DMK's eight allies who won among themselves another 12 seats out of the 76 contested. The AIADMK and Congress (I) combine also routed the opposition in the Lok Sabha Polls, winning all but one of the 38 seats with Congress (I) getting 25 and the AIADMK 12. The lone seat went to the DMK.

Political parties are the powerful instruments of elections for achieving legitimacy and power. They also use the medium of elections for social change. From 1977, when AIADMK came to power, there are 16 by-elections (both Parliament and Assembly constituencies) in Tamil Nadu and in all by-elections except in the by-election at Anna Nagar and Mayiladuthurai on 20.5.1984, the AIADMK and its ally had won and the AIADMK is successful electorally till date. It has obtained power in 1977 and retained it in 1980

and also in 1984. It has also won the critical by-elections conducted for the Parliamentary and Assembly seats.

The tables from XVII to XXIV bring out the salient features of the 1984 Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly elections and also the By-elections in Tamil Nadu.

TABLE XVII

*Eighth Lok Sabha Election, 1984<sup>62</sup>*

Total No. of Seats in Lok Sabha in Tamil Nadu	39
Total No. of Seats for which election was held	38
Electorate	2,99,66,243
Votes polled	2,20,69,708
Valid votes	2,10,99,274
Invalid votes	9,70,434

TABLE XVIII

Name of the Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Votes secured	Percentage of votes secured
<b>AIADMK Front</b>				
AIADMK	12	12	39,60,854	18.78
Congress (I)	25	25	85,30,380	40.43
GKNC	1	—	2,17,104	1.03
Total	38	37	1,27,08,338	60.24
<b>DMK Front</b>				
DMK	25	1	51,54,470	24.43
Janata	5	—	9,11,931	4.32
CPI (M)	3	—	6,14,893	2.92
CPI	3	—	7,38,106	3.50
IUML	1	—	1,76,372	0.84
TNKC	1	—	1,44,076	0.68
Total	38	1	77,39,848	36.69



Namadu				
Kazhagam (NK)	6	—	67,614	0.32
BJP	1	—	15,462	0.07
RPI (G)	1	—	2,660	0.01
Cong. (J)	1	—	2,592	0.01
RSM	1	—	2,484	0.01
Independents	10	—	90,812	0.42

TABLE XIX

*Eighth Assembly Elections, 1984 in Tamil Nadu<sup>63</sup>*

Total Assembly Seats	234
No. of Seats for which elections held	232
Electorate	3,06,75,137
Votes polled	2,25,74,337
Valid votes	2,15,28,548
Invalid votes	10,45,789

TABLE XX

Name of Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Valid votes polled	Percentage of votes polled	No. of seats in the dissolved House
AIADMK Front					
AIADMK	153	133	79,79,311	37.06	131
Congress (I)	71	62	35,38,820	16.43	33
GKNC	4	2	1,20,704	0.56	3
AIFB	3	0	93,031	0.46	3
RPI (G)	1	1	47,813	0.21	1
Total	232	198	1,17,79,679	54.72	171

## DMK Front

DMK	156	20	60,11,461	27.92	32
CPI (M)	17	5	6,32,533	2.93	11
Janata	17	3	5,10,503	2.36	2
CPI	16	2	5,32,575	2.47	8
IUML	6	2	2,30,207	1.05	1
TNFB	3	1	1,24,788	0.56	...
TNKC	7	...	1,99,484	0.91	1
PWP	10	...	3,14,818	1.55	...

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Total	232	33	85,56,375	39.75	55
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## Namadhu

Kazhagam (NK)	104	...	1,92,474	0.88	4
RPI (G)	7	...	4,248	0.21	...
Congress (J)	11	...	3,970	0.01	...

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Total	122	...	2,00,692	0.01	4
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## Others including

Independents	895	1	9,91,802	4.43	...
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(The Indian Socialist Party had one member and two seats were vacant in the dissolved Assembly)

TABLE XXI

*Eighth Assembly Elections (1984) in Tamil Nadu<sup>84</sup>*

## District wise Break-up of Results

District	AIADMK	Cong. (I)	DMK	Janata	CPI (M)	CPI	ML	GKNC	Others
Madras	3	2	6	—	—	—	1	—	—
Chingleput	11	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	—
North Arcot	12	7	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Arcot	14	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dharmapuri	5	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salem	11	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coimbatore	7	2	2	1	1	1	—	—	—
Periyar	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nilgiris	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madurai	13	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
									(TNFB)
Tiruchi	12	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thanjavur	10	5	2	—	2	1	—	—	—
Pudukottai	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramanathapuram	9	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	1
									(AIFB)
Tirunelveli	9	5	1	—	—	—	1	2	—
Kanyakumari	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	1
									(Hindu Munnani)
Total	133	62	20	3	5	2	2	2	3

(The DMK combine suffered a rout in as many as five districts-South Arcot, Salem, Nilgiris, Periyar and Pudukottai).

## TABLE XXII

*Thirupattur (Assembly) By-election<sup>65</sup>*

Electorate	1,38,120
Total votes Polled	95,581
S.P. Manavalan (Cong. I)	46,031
G. Shanmugam (DMK)	31,381
G. Ponnuswami (Independent)	13,855
M. Ponnuswami (Independent)	359
J. R. Manoharan (Independent)	316
N. Krishnan (Independent)	278
S.R. Subramaniam (Independent)	235
T. Kumaraswami (Independent)	122
K. Ravichandran (Independent)	73
M. Babu (Independent)	67
Invalid	2,864

## TABLE XXIII

*Thirunelveli (Assembly) By-election<sup>66</sup>*

Electorate	1,31,041
Votes Polled	95,585
R.M. Veerappan (AIADMK)	52,729
A.L. Subramaniam (DMK)	39,495
P. Jayapaul (Janata)	1,006
P. Jagatheesa Pandian (Independent)	526
P. John (Independent)	75
M. Mohammed Matdar (Independent)	66
T.K. Karudha Pandi (Independent)	59
M. Rayappan (Independent)	46
S. Suria Muthu (Independent)	44
M. Ramakrishnan (Independent)	37
Jayaveerapandian (Independent)	25
S. Murugesan (Independent)	21
Invalid	1,423

## TABLE XXIV

*Aruppukkottai (Assembly) By-election<sup>67</sup>*

Total Electorate	1,23,204
Votes Polled	91,366
V. S. Panchavarnam (AIADMK)	55,125
V. Thanga Pandian (DMK)	34,202
T. K. Karutha Pandi (Independent)	54
A. Ramaswamy (Independent)	23
V. Thuravi Vipoothi Govindan Samiar (Independent)	162
A. Sankaralingam (Independent)	50
S. P. Poojiyanathan (Independent)	92
M. Marimuthu (Independent)	50
G. Muthukrishnan (Janata)	381
J. Ravikumar (Independent)	47
I. Raman (Independent)	65
Invalid	1, 115

*Section IV: Conclusion*

The electoral process is indeed pervasive. It permeates the social order, at almost every level. Hence elections have proved to be powerful instruments of mass education and of political socialization. The Tamil Nadu experience has proved that they can function in essentially a traditional society, with an overwhelming illiterate population and still serve the modern political goals of intergration, and political development.

The reasons for the AIADMK's continued success in the elections and in the by-elections are: (1) It contested only in those constituencies which offered a modicum of hope. The party did not show haste in announcing its intention to participate or not. Only after a careful weighing of

the pros and cons did the party proceed to speak out its mind. (2) The AIADMK gave considerable attention to election manifestocs. It explained through the manifesto several of its public policy issues. The party made the copies of the manifesto freely available to all. The AIA-DMK recorded the manifesto and played it to the common people. (3) The AIADMK focussed the attention of the people on several of the major issues facing Tamil Nadu. The party expressed these issues in a simple manner. (4) The AIADMK took special care in selecting candidates by observing such criteria as: (a) Money contribution by the candidate, (b) Dominant group, caste, or faction, (c) perception of advantages, (d) ability to win, (e) locality of the candidate (f) the candidate's role in the party, (g) the value of the candidates in the legislature, (h) his observance of party discipline etc., (5) The AIADMK coined several slogans during electioneering because slogans are more effective than manifestoes in campaigning. Characterized by brevity, rhyme and rhythm, these highly telegraphic statements are 'like weapons in the war.' The party couched these slogans in a language and a form that appeal particularly to the illiterate voters. (6) The AIADMK used many ingenious campaign techniques. These techniques had been geared to the nature of the electorate, their mass illiteracy and social attitudes and values. It gave emphasis to such techniques as meetings, processions, banners, flags and other visible and spectacular demonstrations rather than to written word, although numerous pamphlets and leaflets were distributed. (7) MGR was at his best in vast public meetings, and through them he was able to address and he was seen by large numbers of his partymen and citizenry. In a country where the personal factor is so important, and where the 'darshan' of a charismatic leader is so valued, public meetings have a very special role in electioneering. This truth is well handled by MGR. (8) Taking the valuable clue from his mentor Annadurai, who had demonstrated the value of alliances against powerful ruling parties, MGR

also showed extreme keenness in building up electoral alliances for all elections and by-elections.

However MGR had kept up these as loose alliances of convenience. MGR brought all the minor parties together at his will. In fact communists and minor parties began to yearn for his alliances to the extent of forgetting the issues involved.

Because of the successful exploitation of the variables like the issue orientation, candidate orientation and party-identification, the AIADMK is successful so far. Women, students, youth, MGR fans, and those who are concerned for Tamil language and Backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Tribes have all flocked together in upholding the AIA-DMK.

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10. Link, dated March 24, 1978, p.19.
11. This list is prepared from a scrutiny of the AIA-DMK party newspaper *Anna*, dated May and June, 1977.
12. These activities of MGR were also culled from the party newspaper, *Anna* dated May and June 1977; and May 1980.
13. The Indian Express, dated May 25, 1980.
14. For a graphic account of this by-election see, The Indian Express, dated May 10-25, 1973.
15. The Indian Express, dated May 26, 1973.
16. The Indian Express, dated February 15-25, 1974.
17. The Indian Express, dated February 26, 1974.
18. The Indian Express, dated February 27, 1974.
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20. The Indian Express, dated February 26, 1974.
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22. For a description of these developments, see: The Indian Express, February 20-25, 1977.
23. Srinivasan, S.P. *Report on the Sixth General Elections to Lok Sabha*, Madras, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1978, p. 147.
24. National Herald, March 7, 1977.
25. Statesman, March 18, 1977.
26. Times of India, dated March 22, 1977.
27. Srinivasan, S.P. *Op.Cit.*, p.579.
28. Hindustan Times, June 8, 1977.
29. The Hindu, dated June 10, 1977.
30. The Hindu, dated July 1, 1977.
31. Oza, D.K., *Report on the Sixth General Elections to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly*, Madras, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, 1978, p.755.
32. The Hindu, dated June 16, 1977.
33. *Ibid.*
34. The Hindu, May 21-31, 1979.
35. The Hindu May 25, 1979.
36. The Hindu, dated May 26, 1979.
37. The Hindu, dated June 19, 1979.



38. This by election is unique for one important point. The highest percentage (83.71%) of votes were polled here. This is an all time record for Tamil Nadu. The Hindu, dated June 19, 1979.

39. Statesman, December 25, 1979.

40. Oza, D.K., *Report on the Seventh General Elections to Lok Sabha*, Madras, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1980, p.14.

41. The Hindu, dated January 2, 1980.

42. "The major reason for the defeat of the AIADMK and the success of the DMK - Congresss (I) was that people wanted a stable and strong government at the centre". See the Hindu, dated January 8, 1980.

43. Times of India, dated December 27, 1979.

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45. The Hindu, dated January 8, 1980.

46. Oza, D.K., *Report on the Seventh General Elections*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

47. The Hindu, dated May 21, 1980.

48. The Hindu, dated May 23, 1980.

49. The Hindu, dated June 9, 1980.

50. Oza, D.K., *Op. Cit.*, p.157.

51. The Hindu, November 3, 1981,

52. The Hindu, November 7, 1981,

53. The Hindu, Decembre 1, 1981,

54. The Indian Express, dated September 1, 1982.

The Indian Express, dated Septembre 22, 1982.

55. India Today dated Septembre 30, 1982.

56. The Indian Express, dated January 22, 1983.

57. Sunday, dated April 2. 1983.

58. The Hindu, dated March 6, 1983.

59. For two of the 234 seats in the Legislative Assembly and one of the 39 seats in the Lok Sabha constituencies in Tamil Nadu, elections have been countermanded due to the murder of one Independent candidate.

60. Dr. C. A, Perumal, Professor and Head of the Departmant of Politics, and Public Administration, University of Madras on poll Panel Discussion in telecast on

29.12.84, K. S. Ramakrishnan in *Indian Express*, 4 January 1985.

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62. *The Hindu*, Januray, 1984.

63. *The Hindu*, 2 January, 1985.

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65. *The Hindu*, Thursday, March 7, 1985.

66. *The Hindu*, Tuesday, September 2, 1986.

67. *The Hindu*, Tuesday, September 2, 1986.

## FEDERAL RELATIONS

The desire for union, the desire for local autonomy, geographical continuity, the problem of defence, economic motives, racial bonds, linguistic affinities and administrative efficiency are some of the powerful drives that go to make up a federation. If two or more of the above mentioned factors combine together the longevity of the federation increases, but its problems of sustenance get compounded.<sup>1</sup>

Claims that deny federal features in the Indian Constitution, and strong arguments for its unequivocal presence in it, had been advanced right from the making of the constitution in 1947. The British had invoked the federal idea for India as a possible solution to the conflicting claims of the Muslims, Hindus and princely states and a host of others.<sup>2</sup> Their experiments to introduce simultaneously both centralizing and decentralizing tendencies in the constitutional fabric led India to fashion a constitution which is neither unitary nor federal but somewhere in between. And this queer nature of the Indian Constitution had made K. C. Wheare comment that India is quasi-federal.<sup>3</sup>

Historically speaking, it was for reasons of administrative convenience that doses of decentralisation were administered to the provinces by the Raj. Here the *litmus* test to determine anti-national sentiments was that some of these decentralisation measures were not to undermine the foundations of the British Indian empire. Powers which were considered to be unmanageable, or not in the interests of the Empire, were turned over to Indian hands under Montagu-Chemsford Reforms of 1919. Therefore, in the devolutionary

process, all sources of financial strength were retained by the Raj, and all complicated developmental problems were heaped on the provinces.<sup>4</sup>

In the early forties a theoretical hope for Indian Federalism amidst the Muslims and the Princes, and a practical demonstration of a certain amount of safe devolution were existing side by side. The British did not find the way to proceed with certitude and they hesitated and vacillated, until history took its course. With the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan, Indian leaders thought that the rationale for granting autonomy to the provinces had disappeared and apprehending more demands for splitting up the already truncated sub-continent, they became the champions of a strong centre. Left to themselves, perhaps they might not have talked of a federation at all but the logic of Indian society, which is essentially pluralistic, was against them. Hence they attempted a model of a modified, if not a maimed federation, in which non-autonomous and weak states were conjoined. Thus federalism in India happens to be an administrative legacy and the fond hope of the few who believed in Indian Pluralism.<sup>5</sup>

Consequently, the Indian Constitution stipulated a system of institutional arrangements and powers between the States and the Centre, the former with empty bowls and expanding functions and the latter with expanding revenues and overriding authorities. The scheme of distribution of powers, the authority of the Rajya Sabha, residuary powers of the Centre, proclamation of Emergencies, the functioning of Governors, the dominance of the Civil service, single citizenship, common law code and judicial system, planning and planning machinery have made the already vulnerable states look like ploys. But then, the homogeneity of the States brought about the linguistic reorganisation in 1956, the proliferation of regional parties and the loss of dominance by the Congress in 1967, have now made the States assert their rights and share. Thus stresses and strains have surfaced in the federal relations.<sup>6</sup>

However, in Tamil Nadu there was no noticeable disharmony in federal relations upto 1967, because Indian National Congress was in power both at the Centre and in Tamil Nadu. But the victory of the DMK in 1967 had brought about a significant change. While changes in other states of India were only change of governments from one set of Congressmen to another, power shift in Tamil Nadu was from Congress to non-Congress. The change of governments, both at the Centre and in Tamil Nadu, since 1977 had complicated the relations further. In recounting the AIADMK's views on federal relations Section I of this chapter brings out the outlook of the Congress, the DMK and the AIADMK on Indian Federalism. Section II summarises the Centre-State relations maintained by the AIADMK since 1977. Section III briefs the complex relations worked out by the AIADMK with the neighbours of Tamil Nadu. Section IV offers conclusions.

### *Section I. Political Parties and Indian Federalism*

Political parties of India can be classified into three groups on the *stability — change* dimension in centre-state relations. First, and politically the most significant group, consists of the Congress — I (which traces its roots to the Indian National Congress), and other minor parties of the Congress tradition, who do not advocate any change in the structure and pattern of Centre-State relations. Here *status-quo* or continuation of the tradition is perceived to be in the best interests of the party and the nation. The second group consists of those parties which accept the constitutional structure and the need for a strong centre but who would like to see changes in the machinery and style of centre-state relations. Perhaps the Janata, the BJP and the Lok Dal share this view. The third group puts forth radical views. They demand restructuring of the entire framework of these relations and would like to see extreme depatures

from the tradition. This group consists, in descending order of moderation and restraint, of the AIADMK, the CPI, the DMK and the CPI (M).<sup>7</sup>

The views of the Congress (I) on centre-state relations stems from its concern with bringing modernization and development to Indian society. Essentially, modernization involves the adaptation from sacred to secular society, from folklore to science as the basis of life in society, and from primary to secondary community. And national development has four facets: (1) the building of nationhood out of an amorphous and heterogeneous population; (2) development of national resources through better production, marketing etc., ordinarily described as economic growth; (3) the fair distribution of opportunities and income among all the people so as to improve the standard of living and quality of life of each citizen; and (4) equal opportunities of citizens to participate in bringing about the desired pattern of growth with justice. All these are recognised as simultaneously significant in the framework of the socio-political change.<sup>8</sup>

To achieve modernization and development for India, the Indian National Congress rebuilt the already existing procedures of centralization, born out of the logic of British Imperialism and the Indian National Movement in the decision-making processes of the Indian Political System. And a commitment of the Congress leadership to fight poverty through the process of planning was appreciated by all. The Congress marched through its way because there was no significant counter organization and philosophy to oppose it at that time.

Therefore, during the first two decades of Independence, the issue of centre-state relations was relatively dormant and generally received low political awareness from the political elites and the parties. Such of those conflicts in the centre-state relations were quickly dissipated within the monolithic machinery of the Congress and by the radiant charisma of Nehru.<sup>9</sup>

However the 1967 elections led to the loss of power by the Congress in half of the States, though it maintained its pre-eminent position at the Centre. Parties which purported to have different conceptions of economic growth and political destiny assumed power in the states. This put the operation of the multiparty system at the two levels of the government into severe strains. The result was that the organizational machinery of the Congress Party could not be used for managing centre-state relations. What was interesting was that different political parties tended to use centre-state relations for wider political purposes leading to the politics of confrontation. This situation was accentuated when, after the split in the Congress in 1969, some states under Congress (O) themselves voiced that the central government was not objective and impartial in its dealings with the states. Thus Congress was slowly pushed from the position of the judge of the circumstances to the role of businessman.<sup>10</sup> Congress' 'market model' of centre-state relations basically means a consensus reached through a prolonged process of bargaining between contending parties and is successful in a situation where demands exceed resources.<sup>11</sup>

When the DMK assumed power in Tamil Nadu in 1967, that party had already become a polyglot of different interests. Eventhough the secessionist demand was abandoned, the party was still forced to accommodate the interests of the Dravidanadu (for organized loyalties do not get dissipated that much easily). More power and resources were needed for the DMK to quench the interests of the backward communities. The party also had to accommodate and absorb the interests of the groups which stood for a separate state for the development of the Tamil Language and the Tamils. The problem faced by the DMK was really difficult. Having abandoned the idea of separate state and having extended a promise to work under the Constitution (which was framed by the Congress in accordance with its priorities), the DMK found it very difficult to push its programmes through. The only alternative available for it was

to drive hard bargains with the Congress at the Centre. Its manifestoes of 1967 and 1971 demanded the need for the sharing of power at the Centre and insisted on uniform economic development in all the states. More specifically they demanded that the constitution be amended to vest the residuary powers in the states. But they did not provide a detailed programme of action.<sup>12</sup>

C.N. Annadurai had known this predicament earlier. He argued in the Rajya Sabha that the "working of the federal structure all these years have created a sense of frustration in the minds of the states. The states are fast becoming dole-getting corporations. They feel that they are relegated to the background and there is a very natural instinct in them that they should be given more power. Coupled with that there is the regional disparity and added to it is the linguistic tangle. Give us, proper answers to the puzzles that are created not by us but by the working of the Constitution to the detriment of the states."<sup>13</sup> Again in June 1967, presenting the budget to the Legislative Assembly, Annadurai observed, "state governments can not discharge their responsibilities in meeting the growing aspirations of the people for a new way of life. Unless the resource base of the state is considerably strengthened by giving them access to growing resources of revenue and by allocating the Plan resources on an agreed basis leaving the states with complete freedom to utilize them according to their judgment."<sup>14</sup>

In fact, while assessing the centre-state relations in India, Mathiaszagan, then Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu, said in his budget speech on February 26, 1970, that "the power to raise resources vests predominantly with the government at the Centre. The Centre has also been assigned the power to decide upon matters relating to the allocation of resources among the states and for the various projects. The important determinant of economic policy in a modern society which have a bearing on the production apparatus of the state are banking, currency and fiscal policy



and these are controlled wholly by the Government of India. The power to levy important taxes, to vary interest rates, to adjust the exchange value of our currency—all these powers are concentrated in the Government of India. It is therefore no accident that very often, the Government of the state is faced with unfortunate consequences of decisions taken by the Centre. The divorce between power and responsibility has been the bane of our federal, economic and political system. The state governments were not consulted in respect of any of these crucial decisions. The State government has been kept in the dark in regard to the rationale behind policies that are adopted at the centre from time to time.”<sup>15</sup>

Echoing the views of his predecessor, Karunanidhi appointed (the Rajamannar Commission) Centre-State relations Enquiry Committee on 22.9.1969. The Committee was empowered to go into the entire question regarding the relationship that should exist between the centre and the states in a federal set-up with reference to the provisions of the constitution so as to secure to the states the utmost autonomy. The committee was also requested to suggest measures necessary for augmenting the resources of the states.<sup>16</sup>

Three distinguished men, Dr. P.V. Rajamannar, Dr. A.L. Mudaliar and P. Chandra Reddy, constituted the committee which officially began work in September 1969 and published its report in May 1971. The committee's final conclusions shocked many, but they were of far-reaching character.

The main recommendations of the committee were, first, immediate setting up of an Inter-State Council comprising all the Chief Ministers or their nominees with the Prime Minister as its Chairman. No decision should be taken by the Centre, with the exception of issues relating to defence and foreign affairs, without consulting the Council if that decision was likely to affect the interests of one or more states. Second the Planning Commission, as constituted presently, should be disbanded, and its place must be

taken by a statutory body consisting of scientific, technical, agricultural and economic experts to advise the states which should have Planning Boards of their own. Third, the Finance Commission should be made a permanent body, and there should be larger devolution of taxes in favour of the states so that their dependence upon the Centre could be minimised. Fourth, the committee recommended the transfer of several subjects from the union and concurrent lists to the state list. Fifth, the Governor should be appointed in consultation with the state cabinet or some other high-power body that might be set-up for the purpose, and once a person had held this office he should not be appointed to any other post under the government. The constitution should be amended to enable the President, to issue an Instrument of Instructions to the Governors. Article 164, which says that the ministers should hold office during the pleasure of the Governor should be deleted. Sixth, the High Courts of the States should be the highest courts for all matters falling within the jurisdiction of the States. However, constitutional interpretation was to continue with the Supreme Court. And finally the committee wanted equal representation of the states in the Rajya Sabha and deletion of emergency powers under the articles 356, 357 and 360.<sup>17</sup>

The Rajamannar committee report represents an unsuccessful attempt to reshape the relationships between the Centre and the States. Although it succeeded in providing a legal argument for a political case, it failed in persuading the political system to change. In retrospect the committee did perform the function of articulating the extreme concerns in favour of state autonomy.

The Rajamannar Committee Report remained only as a document of historical interest because the political landscape of India changed due to the Bangladesh War and the Fifth General Elections. During this period the Congress reverted to its role of the Big Brother and states came to be increasingly subordinated to New Delhi. The adjustment

of the relations of the national and regional governments came to be characterized by authoritarian prescription.<sup>18</sup> A political era of intensified centralism and convergence was ushered in. During the Emergency, the Constitution (Forty Second Amendment) Act, 1976 was introduced to further enhance the power of the Centre. Education was transferred from the State to the Concurrent list. Another important change relating to the centre-state relations pertained to New Delhi's power to deploy unilaterally its forces like the Central Reserve Police Force and the Border Security Force in any part of the country.<sup>19</sup>

However a party system of diverse hues and complexities arose as a result of the Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections in 1977. The Janata Party which assumed power at the Centre was a coalition of diverse interests. The delicate balance inherent in the Janata structure could be maintained only through compromise and consensus. Therefore the Centre under the Janata was under constant pressure to pursue a policy of conciliation in centre-state relations. Hence regional governments were able to enjoy a wide measure of operational autonomy and practically there was no interference in their affairs by New Delhi. The dismissal of the 8 State governments in March 1977 was perhaps the only sin committed by the Janata Party.

But nothing positive and concrete in the way of mitigating the imbalances was initiated by the Janata party. Notwithstanding loud claims of decentralization goals in its election manifesto and later in its Economic Policy Statement of November 1977, the Janata Party was right from the beginning reluctant to concede the regional demands for greater devolution of the resources. Practically, no institutional reforms were undertaken in the way of associating the states effectively with planning and development.<sup>20</sup>

The AIADMK which obtained power in 1977 in Tamil Nadu accepted the fundamental and realistic arguments of Annadurai "Neither dependence, nor independence but inter-dependence". In short the AIADMK dreams of a new

era of 'collective, co-operative, and creative federalism.'<sup>21</sup>

## *Section II: Centre-State Relations*

If the constitutional and institutional arrangements form the skeleton of a federal polity, the changing political process with its myriad informal political arrangements and forces constitute its flesh and blood. The nature of a federation is after all to be judged not on the basis only of the constitutional-legal mechanism but on the basis also of the realities of the political process. Therefore the main problems which exist in the relations between the AIADMK and the centre are recapitulated in this section.

### *Political Relations*

Since its founding in 1972 to the time of the Sixth General Elections to the Lok Sabha there was a closer understanding between the AIADMK and the Congress (I). Later, due to misunderstandings in the electoral alliances the two parties diverged. From 1981 to 1984, their relations were strained. Now an excellent rapport exists between AIADMK and Congress (I). In general, political relations had become the yardstick for the reactions of the Congress (I) and the Centre to the problems of Centre-State relations. As such the circumstances in which the AIADMK was born was quite different and the manner in which it reached the people was quite exceptional. There was no necessity for the AIADMK to accommodate any warring groups or differing interests and ideologies. In the absence of intra-party conflicts, the AIADMK could afford to update the views of Annadurai in the light of the changing circumstances.

However the AIADMK rejected Karunanidhi's policies of 'hard bargaining' and 'blowing hot and cold' with the centre. It is an article of faith with the AIADMK that the people of different regions with distinct ethnic origin, culture, civilization, language and history of their own in the

subcontinent should, while promoting and preserving their specificities, integrate themselves with all. The AIADMK is all set for the unity in diversity, but at the same time it wants the people of different regions to take their pride of place. That is, the AIADMK gives equal emphasis to both the unity and diversity of India. Therefore it considers that the development of the Indian subcontinent is the sum total of the development of each region. It further wants that the economically prosperous states in India should come forward, in a spirit of co-operation, to sacrifice, assist, develop and advance the interests of the backward states.

While respecting the existing constitution of India, the AIADMK considers it necessary to make further decentralisation. It also wants residuary powers for the states. In the centre-state relations the party wants to pursue the ideal of 'neither independence nor dependence but interdependence.' To sum up the relationship is not constitutional but electoral and political.<sup>22</sup>

When the AIADMK obtained power for the first time in 1977 in Tamil Nadu, the Janata party captured power at the Centre. However the Janata party had its own problems and therefore it did not wish to extend its arm and power into the affairs of the states. It gave a free hand to all the state governments to solve their problems in their own way and was sympathetic to the needs of the states. It was more sympathetic to the AIADMK in the policies of language, autonomy, grants and aid. Perhaps moved by their fine gesture, and irritated by the constant pricking of the Congress (I), the AIADMK brought an electoral alliance with the Janata party during the Seventh Lok Sabha Elections. The defeat of the Janata Party (and the return of the Congress (I) to power at the centre) brought an end to the friendship between the AIADMK and the Janata.<sup>23</sup>

Congress (I) criticised that that the AIADMK would support any party that obtained power at the Centre. For this they pointed out the example of two of its members joining Charan Singh's cabinet. The AIADMK is rejoinder

was that India would not survive amidst political instability and therefore it would be binding on the AIADMK to take such steps that would bring about and promote stability at the centre as well as in the various states of India.<sup>24</sup>

### *Constitutional Aspects*

In general the relations between the AIADMK and the centre were normal in this sphere and problems arose because of the centre's neglect or indifference. For example in the legislative sphere, a problem now exists. Its details are:

The Government of Tamil Nadu passed the 'Tamil Nadu Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Act, 1961 (Tamil Nadu Act 58 of 1961), and brought it into effect from April 6, 1960. However, interested elements knew of this legislation earlier and began to make benami transactions right from January 1, 1968 specifically to evade the act and to reduce the surplus lands liable to be taken over by the government under the said Act. When the information was brought to the notice of the AIADMK government, it passed the 'Tamil Nadu Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Second Amendment Bill, 1980. The purpose of the Bill was to make all such benami transfers of land null and void, subject of course to certain exceptions. The Bill was sent for the approval of and ratification by the President. But the Centre returned the Bill withholding its consent.<sup>25</sup>

The AIADMK did not find any difficulty in the administrative resolutions. It did not make any comment on the role of the governor when its ministry was dismissed in February 1980. However certain administrative procedures which were carried out by the authorities of the Central government, had irked the AIADMK. In fact a serious row had developed between the regional office at Madras of the Central Board of Film Censors and the industry at Madras. The industry had complained of discrimination and wanted the regional office to be as liberal as Bombay in issuing

certificates. But the officials held the ground that there could not be any discrimination since the censorship guidelines were common for all the regions.<sup>26</sup>

The AIADMK's views on the existing judicial relations were not happy. The party opposed two major judicial policies of the Centre. The AIADMK wanted the retention of the old system of appointment of Chief Justices to the High Court who knew the local language. It did not like Chief Justices who did not have an adequate knowledge of Tamil. Also the Tamil Nadu government was opposed to the Centre's policy of transferring Chief Justices of the High Courts. The AIADMK also did not appreciate the Union Government's resolve to have at least one-third of the Judges in High Courts from outside the state concerned.<sup>27</sup>

On several issues concerning the financial relations, the AIADMK and the centre were at loggerheads. More often than not, Tamil Nadu had been drought-prone and the politics of drought reached unmanageable proportions. Tamil Nadu had always requested sizeable grants and aids for relief operations, and the centre had always refrained to concede the request. In the 1983 drought of Tamil Nadu, the government had requested a sum of Rs. 210 crores by way of grants and aids. The Centre had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 5 crores at the first instance, and after investigations and considerable delay had further sanctioned only a sum of 10 crores as part of 72 crores aid to be adjusted against plan expenditure.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, when the AIADMK approached the Reserve Bank of India for a credit of 35 crores for the purchase of grains in the open market the bank reportedly insisted on the state getting clearance from the centre. The AIADMK was upset because it had a good record of not resorting to overdraft for several years consecutively.<sup>29</sup> Again, finding that Andhra Pradesh Civil Supplies Corporation had placed restrictions on the movement of paddy, the Tamil Nadu government attempted to buy rice from states like Punjab. But for this, the availability of Rail wagons

became a problem. It was only after Tamil Nadu's agreement to fall in line with the Central government's policy (that Tamil Nadu should contribute to the central pool of food stock) that the Centre announced in the Lok Sabha a meagre allotment of 15,000 tonnes of rice and an equal quantity of wheat a month which entails a monthly review of the situation.<sup>30</sup>

### *Economic Relations*

Disharmony had erupted every now and then, in the economic relations between the Centre and Tamil Nadu. The AIADMK promised during the Assembly elections of 1980 that it would write off the entire Taccavi loans given to the small farmers as part of alleviating the grievances of the agriculturists. When the AIADMK government tried to implement this poll promise, the Centre and the RBI refused permission for such a move in May 1981 and instructed that all such arrears should be collected in full. The Centre held that such writing off the dues in Tamil Nadu would lead to similar requests from other states, and likely to undermine the cooperative movement in India. Then the hapless Tamil Nadu Government, proceeded to write off unilaterally a small portion of that loan.<sup>31</sup>

Problems between the Centre and Tamil Nadu exist not merely in the primary sector. It is worse in the secondary sector. The central government had set up Sivaraman Committee in 1980 to fix norms for industrial backwardness in India, so that Centre can assist the states in a big way in industrial development. But the government of Tamil Nadu fears that if the report were to be implemented, hardly there would be any subsidy for Tamil Nadu, and not even two taluks could be classified as industrially backward in Tamil Nadu. In fact the centre had not included even a single district from Tamil Nadu out of the 87 it had chosen throughout India for preferential allocation of industrial ventures.<sup>32</sup>



There is a widespread criticism that the industrial progress of Tamil Nadu had declined since 1967. The AIA-DMK considered that the Centre was responsible for this state of affairs. It pointed out that out of 425 applications recommended by the state for sanction of industrial licences between 1980-83 the Centre had rejected as many as 200 applications of bigger industries in order to give them to other states, especially to states like U. P. and Bihar.<sup>33</sup> Also the state took steps for getting the naval academy located in Tamil Nadu but the project was given to Kerala.<sup>34</sup> In spite of repeated requests by the Tamil Nadu, the Hindustan Photo Colour films unit was taken away from Tamil Nadu and given to Uttar Pradesh.<sup>35</sup> The proposal for 40 crore cement plant at Madukkarai had been pending with the Centre for more than six years.<sup>36</sup> Some more proposals for sugar factories were also not cleared.<sup>37</sup> Further state government's request to declare either Tuticorin or Gummidipoondi as free trade zone had not been viewed favourably by the Centre.<sup>38</sup> Moreover it had also not invested much in Tamil Nadu in the last 16 years, except for an expansion scheme of Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited and a Re-rolling mill at Salem.<sup>39</sup>

In the tertiary sector also strained relations exist between Tamil Nadu and the Centre. For instance the Tamil Nadu government wanted to acquire a bulk carrier for transporting coal to Tuticorin and submitted a proposal to the centre for that effect. A technical committee by the government of India approved the proposal and the Development Bank of India accepted to extend financial help. But the Centre had reportedly allowed a private shipper to acquire the licence for shipping services to Tuticorin. Tamil Nadu would have to pay Rs. 8000/-per day if it used the ship to feed the Tuticorin Thermal plant.<sup>43</sup>

Power had been the major constraint coming in the way of industrialization in Tamil Nadu. Thermal and Hydel power are scarce and, when ever monsoon failed the state's industrial structure got paralysed. To avoid the unpleasant

situation, the Tamil Nadu government wanted the second thermal station at Neyveli to supply the entire production to Tamil Nadu. In fact that was the basic understanding when the second unit had been constructed in 1971. It took considerable time for the Centre to carry out its words.<sup>41</sup>

Another sour in the centre-state relations was the sharing of waters from riverine systems. The Centre is not enthusiastic about settling the problem of sharing of Cauvery waters by Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.<sup>42</sup>

### *Socio-Cultural Aspects:*

The equal treatment to all the languages of India by the Central government is yet to become a reality. The imposition of Hindi, through several central government organizations, radio and television, was strongly resented to by the AIADMK. The state wanted to know the clear stand of the central government on the language question. For its part the AIADMK had opted for the two language formula of Tamil and English.<sup>43</sup>

The Centre had taken away, education, an important power and responsibility of the states, to the concurrent list. The AIADMK thought it fit to bring it back to the State list. For improvement of technical education in Tamil Nadu and for introducing innovative technical courses, the State had to obtain the permission of the Centre which is difficult.<sup>44</sup>

Likewise the Tamil Nadu government had urged the Centre to implement immediately the recommendation of the Mandal commission on backward classes. It had also been pressing the Centre not to disturb the present reservation system in Tamil Nadu.<sup>45</sup>

Such of these problems between Tamil Nadu and the Centre in particular, and between the States and the Centre in general, had been viewed from three different perspectives by scholars, administrators and politicians. The largest group of writers explain the dominant centralizing tendencies at work in India and regret the misuse by the Centre of

its powers and the constitutional provisions to enhance its prestige and power. Pointing to the various political and economic factors that have given rise to such a situation, they demand a rectification of situation so as to restore the state autonomy and sanctify the federal principle.<sup>46</sup>

A second view decries more strongly the existing situation in which the Centre's domination over the states and has virtually reduced them to the clientele status.<sup>47</sup> The third perspective justified the present trend as the logical outcome of the need for unity and national integration.<sup>48</sup>

Among these viewpoints the AIADMK favoured the first one. To have proper co-ordination between the two levels of the government, as also to set right the problems of Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK had adopted the following methods: (1) The cabinet minister, the Minister for state and the Deputy Minister were met personally and problems were explained to them; (2) The Prime Minister had been briefed on all important occasions about the general and specific problems of Tamil Nadu; (3) The President had been met personally for a discussion of the woes of Tamil Nadu; (4) Periodical memoranda had been submitted to the government of India with all particulars of the problems and possible solutions to them; (5) Hartals and Bandhs were observed to invite the attention of the Centre on a specific problem; (6) Fasting was undertaken by the Chief Minister to solve grim and immediate problems; and (7) Permanent appointment of 'Tamil Nadu Government's Special Representative at New Delhi', who enjoys the cabinet rank has been made to do liason between Tamil Nadu and the Centre <sup>49</sup>

### *Section III: Inter-State Relations:*

In federal relations, more often than not the relations between the Centre and the States were highlighted. What was forgotten was the importance of the inter-state relations in building up stronger states. Granted that even if the

centre-state relations were cordial, a state may not be able to push through its programmes of development and modernization, once the inter-state relations begin to deteriorate. Both centre-state relations and inter-state relations must be harmonious for the states to constituting a viable federation.

Tamil Nadu is surrounded by the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala and the Union Territory of Pondicherry. Parties belonging to various hues dominated these states. No single party had ruled all the four states together since 1977. Since 1984 all the southern states are ruled by non-Congress (I) governments.

Inter-State commerce with special reference to Rice, Electricity, Fertilizers, Cement, Steel and Coal, had been the focus in the relations of the Southern states.<sup>50</sup> From the perspective of Tamil Nadu, Rice and Electricity were the major considerations in the Tamil Nadu - Kerala relations. Rice and water dominated the relations between Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Cauvery water was the lone problem in the relation between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

The most important problem among the southern states happened to be the sharing of Cauvery waters.<sup>51</sup> In fact it has been a source of constant embarrassment in all federal relations among these states. Briefly stated the major problem was that, the 50 year agreement signed in 1924 by the then Madras Presidency and the Princely state of Mysore on the sharing of Cauvery Waters expired in 1974. Karnataka had since maintained that the original agreement had lapsed while Tamil Nadu insists that it could not be terminated, but can only be reviewed, keeping in mind the interests of the lower riparian.

In 1978, when Tamil Nadu was under President's rule some sort of an agreement was outlined. The agreement took cognizance of Karnataka's plea that a great deal of water was wasted in the Cauvery basin within Tamil Nadu. Subsequently a study team constituted by the Centre found that 100 tmcft of water could be saved in Tamil Nadu by better management. Since one of the parties to the dispute

was under President's rule, the 1978 agreement was not signed by any state but remained as an understanding.

When M.G. Ramachandran was returned to power he rejected the assumption on which the 1976 understanding rested. He agreed that better water management was in every body's interest, but before the canals in the delta could be lined to reduce seepage, he could not allow the existing 2.8 million acres irrigated by Cauvery waters to suffer.

Meanwhile Karnataka, taking full advantage of the absence of any accord has gone ahead and constructed dams which impound water that otherwise would have flown to Tamil Nadu.

A fresh effort at bilateral settlement of Cauvery waters has made on April 5, 1983. The meeting of the Chief Ministers of Cauvery basin states under the chairmanship of the Union Irrigation Minister, Ram Niwas Mirdha, saw only a restatement of the positions of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. But the Chief Ministers of Kerala and Pondicherry assured to go by the 1976 understanding.<sup>53</sup>

The problems of inter-state commerce and economics could be solved if there was mutual understanding. To foster friendship and understanding, the first conference of the Chief Ministers of the Southern states was held at Madras on July 16, 1978. The Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Pondicherry attended the conference which was hosted by MGR. The conference made a beginning for collective thinking on common subjects and for finding out proper solutions. The conference demanded a constitutional amendment on language issue, sharing of 75% of taxes in the divisible pool, enhanced central subsidy for paddy, fixation of higher price for sugarcane and levy sugar etc. But this conference was dubbed as the conference of the Congress (I) Chief Ministers.<sup>54</sup>

The second Southern Chief Ministers' conference was held on March 20, 1983. The Chief Ministers of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Pondicherry attended the conclave

at Bangalore. The conference discussed federal fiscal relations, judicial relations, language question, and the legislative powers of the states. The meeting held that the National Development Council and the zonal council were utterly useless in solving the problems of the states. Curiously this meeting was also dubbed as the 'conspiracy of the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers'. The only person absent for the conference was the Congress (I) Chief Minister of Kerala, thus leaving the occasion 'as the meeting of Four Ramas'.<sup>55</sup>

Thus conflicts among the southern states were now being patiently considered and they have given way to manageable solutions. For instance, to solve the water problem at Madras, MGR had requested Andhra Pradesh to share its 'Krishna Waters' and now an agreement had been signed by the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.<sup>56</sup> Also the Tamil Nadu government is pursuing a proposal to share the waters from the west flowing rivers whose catchment areas fall between Kerala and Karnataka. Considerable progress on this issue was made at the second southern Chief Ministers' conference.<sup>57</sup>

Pulsing the restlessness of the states over federal relations, the centre has now come forward to appoint the Sarkaria Commission of Enquiry.<sup>58</sup> The main purpose of the Commission's exercise will be to examine whether the states are conducive to the promotion of the people's welfare or whether some impediments have developed because of the socio-economic developments and if so, to identify them and to suggest remedial measures.<sup>59</sup> Likewise the centre has also set up a 41 member National Water Resources Council to lay down the national water policy and to resolve interstate disputes on water projects.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Section IV : Conclusion*

Federalism is the process by which unity and diversity are politically organized. It unites without destroying the

selves that are uniting, and is intended to strengthen them in their mutual relations and in the pursuit of common objectives, ends or goals. In this sense, federalism is the organized and institutionalized co-operation of groups as such.<sup>61</sup>

Federalism is the process of federalising as well as the particular pattern or design which the intergroup relations exhibit at a particular time. Federalism may operate simultaneously in both the directions of integration and differentiation. The history of mature federal regions is written in terms of this 'nation versus states' rights.' It is also an established fact that all federal systems exhibit a certain oscillation between the two directions.<sup>62</sup>

If federalism assumes an inherent conflict between the integrating and differentiating processes, the federal phenomena is slowly destroyed.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, if there is mutual respect from persons, institutions and ideas representing these two processes, an organic and healthy growth is fostered beyond doubt. Mutual respect between these two processes (i) increases the opportunities for dissenting minorities to make their views known to other citizens and policy-makers; (ii) multiplies the opportunities for citizens to participate in political life; (iii) enhances consensus in political discussion; (iv) reduces the resentment of the defeated and permanent minorities (v) greatly improves the chances of the peaceful resolution of the conflicts and (vi) enhances confidence in and loyalty to a constitutional polity.<sup>64</sup>

Historical compulsions have introduced strong centralization tendencies in the Indian political system. It was only inevitable upto 1965. But thereafter the Congress failed to appreciate the problem of the centre-state relations. It saw an inherent conflict between the two federalising processes. In slipping from one role to another, from the big brother to the businessman and vice versa, the Congress set an unhealthy trend to keep its power and prestige. The Congress used the argument of national integration

when the need was for national accommodation. The states bemused that the weaker the Prime Minister the more intense and successful their bargain. And the centre chagrined the strong Chief Ministers. In this constant shifting of the balance of power, the Congress personified itself as the pouncing cat and the states quarelled among themselves like the proverbial mice which tried to bell the cat.

Because of its social, political and organizational compulsions, the DMK demanded state autonomy intensely. Though this party was defeated at the polls in 1977, the questions it had raised, in the form of the Report of the Rajamannar Committee, are yet to be answered. The relative absence of the intra-party conflicts within the AIA-DMK, makes the party to go into the centre-state relations in a more relaxed and pragmatic manner. The AIADMK does not believe in any form of conflict in the intergrating and differentiating processes of the Indian federation. Therefore it wishes to give equal respect to the unity and diversity of India. Of the two approaches to successful centre-state relations in India — confrontation and co-operation — the AIADMK sincerely wishes to follow the co-operative strategy.

At the practical plane, the AIADMK finds itself locked with the Centre on several issues. The relationship in the inter-state relations also needs to be improved. In this context the AIADMK anxiously awaits the recommendations of the recently appointed Sarkaria Commission of Inquiry to investigate the working of Centre-State relations in India.

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## ADMINISTRATION

In all contemporary societies the prominence of governmental administration has been greatly heightened by the arrival of what might be called the welfare function of the government. At one time governments primarily controlled territory, built public works, facilitated commerce and checked internal turmoil, usually on behalf of small ruling elites. Today, however, governments of every ideology are involved in serving unfulfilled needs, planning change and solving problems. As a result modern administration becomes the critical steering mechanism of the social order.<sup>1</sup>

People themselves are the reasons for this change of functions of the powerful instrument in the modern times. Their ambition for growth with social justice have permeated the political institutions and these institutions control or influence the bureaucracy towards such an end.

Normally political parties aggregate the demands of the people for growth with social justice. They portray the demands of the various groups before the populace during elections. Once a party obtains majority in the parliamentary game, it has the absolute right to spend the resources of the community for a certain period in a manner which it thinks fit. Using this legal norm political parties benefit the groups of the society which they are leading.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time a representative institution has to function responsibly also. A political party cannot content itself with the function of satisfying its own groups' needs. It has to look beyond the horizon to understand the problems of the other groups. At this juncture its proper role is akin to that of a conflict manager among various compe-

ting interest groups, each trying to influence public policy for its own advantage. Though a ruling party has sizable quantum of power in a democracy, it is argued that it has to function equitably because (1) no single interest is so dominant as to be able to get its way without making compromises; (2) most individuals hold overlapping group memberships and will thus exercise a moderating influence on their group leader's decision-making; and (3) it has to intervene on behalf of those whose constitutional rights are threatened by compromises among the powerful interests.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore group process in politics brings about three different kinds of public policies — distributive, regulatory and redistributive. Administration is expected to go strictly by these norms. A distributive policy is one in which the administration bestows benefits upon general interests of development. A regulatory policy is one by which government imposes control over the specific behaviour of individuals or groups. A redistributive policy is one in which administration attempts to effect changes in a way beneficial to the groups which had promoted the government.<sup>4</sup> To be precise, redistributive policies reach the specific groups, distributive policies go to the general interests of development and the regulatory policies govern the entire public.<sup>5</sup>

For an understanding of how the AIADMK uses administration for socio-economic changes, section I of this chapter summarises the benefits it has extended to its ideological base. Section II explains the AIADMK's concern for all other people. Section III offers some conclusions.

### *Section I: Policies for the social bases*

Soon after the results of the Assembly Elections of June 1977, M.G. Ramachandran, the leader of the AIADMK, (which obtained 126 seats out of a total of 234 seats) was sworn in on June 30, 1977 as the sixth Chief

Minister of Tamil Nadu. MGR gave due consideration to education, public mindedness, seniority in the party etc. while forming his cabinet. He did not bother about region, religion, caste, wealth or the status of his colleagues. The ministry consisted of 18 cabinet ministers. Later this ministry was expanded by the induction of 9 Parliamentary Secretaries on June 26, 1978.

From February 18, 1980 to June 8, 1980 Tamil Nadu was under President's rule. In the Seventh Assembly Elections of 1980, the AIADMK obtained an absolute majority of 130 seats out of 234. Hence on June 9, 1980 the Cabinet headed by M.G. Ramachandran was sworn in for the second time. It consisted of 19 cabinet ministers, who fulfilled the norms of the first ministry. In the Eight Assembly Election of 1984 the AIADMK had been returned to power and M.G. Ramachandran's third ministry which consisted of 23 ministers was sworn in on 2nd September, 1984.

The AIADMK translated its ideological principles into electoral promises at the first instance. After obtaining power, the electoral promises flourished into administrative policies, which was notified in general in the Governor's addresses to the joint sessions of the Tamil Nadu Legislature and in the Finance Minister's speech to the budget session of the Legislature.<sup>6</sup> As the AIADMK draws its support from Backward communities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Women and Rural Areas, it was concerned with their welfare and with the development of Tamil. A brief summary about the activities of the AIADMK administration to promote the socio-cultural support-bases is provided here.

### 1. *Backward Classes*

The AIADMK government had identified 201 (in 1986) communities as belonging to Backward classes for purposes of relief and reservation under articles 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution. The population of these communities

are more than 54% of the population of Tamil Nadu. The Department of Backward classes functions for their welfare since 1969. The Department spends the bulk of its budget allocation only on education. Scholarships, Hostels, Supply of free tools to the students of Technical Courses are the major avenues of expenditure. Free legal aid is also extended to weaker sections.

In the offices of the state government and in their undertakings, as well as in educational institutions, 31% of reservation was maintained for the backward classes till January 1980. This has been raised to 50% from February 1, 1980. Also 50 students of the Backward classes are given coaching and amenities to appear for All-India Services Examinations.

With a view to uplift Backward Classes, the Economic Development Corporation is set up in 1980. For the year 1986-87 the department has spent 103.82 crores for the welfare of the Backward classes. The Tamil Nadu Government has also set up the Second Backward Classes commission to look into the whole problem of the Backward classes and their welfare. As a first step towards the abolition of casteism, the government had ordered the erasure of caste surnames in the streets.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Adi-Dravidars or Adi-Hindus):*

To accelerate the pace of development of Adi-Dravidars, the new strategy styled the 'Special Component Plan' is being implemented in Tamil Nadu since 1980-81 by the Department of Adi-Dravidar and Tribal welfare. According to this strategy, 18% of the total efforts under the general sector should flow to the Adi-Dravidars.

The mainstay of the Adi-Dravidars is agriculture and allied sectors. Under the Integrated Rural Development Programme 4,75,000 families were assisted to the tune of Rs. 14.62 crores up to 1985-86. To improve the standard of

living of the Adi Dravidars the Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation is established in 1974.

Education is also given due importance. The Adi-Dravidars get 18% reservation in all educational institutions and in employment opportunities. Scholarships, hostels, text books, uniforms, loans, medical facilities are given to all Adi-Dravidar students. 150 pre-schools, 176 social workers and 375 student hostels function exclusively for them. To enable the Adi Dravidar students to fare better in the All-India Service Examinations, special coaching is given. Those who have been selected are given a sum of Rs. 1000/ while undergoing Training in Mussoori. To encourage inter-caste marriages, the couples are given a gold medal, and Rs. 4,500/-.

Though the Tribal population of Tamil Nadu is small and scattered their problems are given special attention. "The Tribal Sub Plan" takes care of the 9 tribal pockets of Tamil Nadu. Education, Medical Facilities, Housing, and the economic development of the tribals form the core of the Tribal Sub Plan. For 1986-87 the amount spent under this scheme was as 16.8 crores.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. *Women*

Earlier the welfare of women was not taken into proper consideration. The AIADMK administration shows increasing attention to this neglected aspect of social administration. The department of social welfare has been undertaking welfare programmes for socially backward women in general, children falling in the vulnerable age group 2.5-5 years, and the physically handicapped. The Government of Tamil Nadu has set up a Guidance Bureau for widows. The Bureau functions in Madras, Thanjavur, Madurai, and Coimbatore. The objectives of the Bureau are securing admissions for widows in voluntary institutions, education of the children of widows, the education and training of women in handicrafts, helping them getting their dues from



the government, and offering loans from the Nationalized Banks for setting up small businesses. Also the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women had been functioning since 1983, for the betterment of economic status of women.

Three Service Homes, 18 Hostels for working women, 8 work centres and production Units (exclusively for Scheduled Caste women for educating them in professions like tailoring etc.) exist now. 50 Women's welfare branches are now exclusively run by the Bureau. 11,220 Mahalir Manrams (Women's Associations) at a cost of 12.5 lakhs are also run. These Mahalir Manrams impart nutrition education small-scale economic activities, social extension activities, maternity and child health etc. 2,988 Pre-schools are also governed by women.

For those who are physically handicapped, the department provides exclusive help to overcome the physical difficulties. Old age pension, distribution of sewing machines training in rural textiles, widow's remarriage, subsidy for small hotels are some of the schemes by which women receive help from the government. In 1986-87 the Bureau has spent 117.82 lakhs on the welfare of women.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. *Children*

The special Nutrition Programme was further expanded into the 'Chief Minister's Nutritious Meal Programme for children' on July 1, 1982. The cost of implementing this programme is Rs. 28.74 crores for 1984-85. The scheme offers a nutritious meal to all children who want it, for all the 365 days in a year. Along with this nutritious Meal Scheme, a Tooth Powder scheme has also been launched.

Also there are 4,113 child welfare centres spread all over the state. 'Integrated Child Development Services' are implemented. Under this scheme a child gets supplementary nutrition, Health Examination and referral services, Immunisation, Nursery and Pre-School education etc. The Social

Welfare Department has allocated 15.28 crores on the welfare of children in 1984-85.<sup>10</sup>

### 5. *Rural Areas*

Rural communities are still devoid of the basic necessities of life even after 35 years of Independence. While potable water is a major problem in many villages, link roads, health care and Housing continue to add to the gravity of the situation. Therefore, M.G. Ramachandran conceived the concept of 'Self-Sufficiency Scheme' to provide the basic minimum needs within a time frame.

The following categories of works are given priority and included in the Self-Sufficiency scheme: (1) Drinking water supply; (2) Link Roads; (3) Culverts; (4) Pathways to Adi Dravidar Cremation Grounds; (5) Improvements to minor Irrigation Sources; (6) Rural Dispensaries; (7) Maternity and Child Welfare centres; (8) School Buildings; and (9) Housing for Adi-Dravidars.

There are 378 Blocks in Tamil Nadu. Here the Self-Sufficiency scheme is implemented in the three phases. In Phase I (1980-81), 69 Blocks achieved self-sufficiency with an expenditure of Rs.46.42 crores. In Phase II (1981-82), 150 Blocks worked for Self-Sufficiency with an allocation of Rs.97 crores. In Phase III (1982-83), 159 Blocks achieved self-sufficiency at a cost of Rs.113 crores.

The programme had paid rich dividends. On the one side it has created the necessary rural infrastructure for further economic development of the villages and on the other it has improved the quality of life for the rural communities.<sup>11</sup>

### 6. *Language Development*

The Tamilnadu Official Language Act (Tamilnadu Act 39 of 1956) was enacted for the development of the Tami-

language. Soon the Government set up an official language Committee to go into the modalities of implementing the provision of the Act. As the switch-over from English to Tamil for official use could not be effected all of a sudden, it was decided to bring about the change by stages.

In the first instance, Tamilisation in Government offices was introduced in a four phased programme. Then the departments excepting Law, Finance, Legislative Assembly, and Legislative Council began to conduct their proceedings in Tamil. From January 4, 1970 Tamil became the language of all Criminal courts. Since November 11, 1976 all civil and criminal courts had been conducting the proceedings in Tamil.

Glossaries of Administrative terms in Tamil were brought out in 1966. Supplementary Glossaries of Special and Technical terms relating to 44 departments have also been brought out to enable the Government servants to get apt equivalents in officialese. In addition to the General and Supplementary Glossaries, various Manuals, Rules and Codes required for the day to day use in several departments have also been translated. Further a Tamil Shorthand Manual was printed in 1965 and the government opened a Central Training Institute to train Government typists.

In order to acquaint Junior IAS and IPS officers with the provisions and the implementation of the Official Language Act, a scheme was drawn up for imparting a week's training to them in Tamil since 1974.

Since the establishment of the Tamil Development Directorate in 1968, a bibliography of Tamil Books of 1857-1957, an authentic History of Tamil Nadu, text-books for schools and colleges have been prepared. The Tamil Nadu Text Book Society concentrated exclusively on the production of textbooks in Higher Education. People settled in other states are encouraged to study Tamil. Financial Assistance, the Bharatidasan Award, Prizes etc. were distributed every year to Tamil Scholars. A scheme for translating, printing and publishing the best books of other langu-

ages into Tamil was also implemented. In order to provide pride of place to Tamil as the official language of the State, the AIADMK revived the poet Laureateship in the Government of Tamilnadu.

Further, the Government had ordered the implementation of certain reforms in Tamil adopted by Periyar E.V. Ramasamy. A separate Tamil University at Tanjore was also set up in 1981.

Lastly, the AIADMK had been instrumental in conducting the grand Fifth World Tamil Conference during January 4-10, 1981 at Madurai.<sup>12</sup>

## 7. *Film Industry*

The high cost in production and the decline in the quality of films produced are among the problems faced by the film industry. To encourage the production of quality films based on nationally desirable themes and welfare of the people, the Government offers financial assistance of Rs. 1 lakh each to 5 films every year.

To encourage production of Tamil films of artistic and technical excellences a scheme of annual State Awards has been reintroduced. By this scheme, best among the feature films, documentaries and children's films, artistes, technicians etc. will be chosen and presented cash awards and prizes. The selection is made by a committee constituted for this purpose.

The Government provides assistance to start open air theatres. The rules for constructing Cinema theatres have been liberalised, thereby encouraging the construction of new theatres. The Tamilnadu theatre Investment Corporation finances such endeavours.

## *Section II: Policies for economic Welfare*

### 1) *Primary Sector*

Due importance is given to Agricultural Development

in Tamil Nadu. There has been rapid increase in population leading to increased demand for food and other consumer goods many of which have an agricultural base. However, recent trends have thrown vast possibilities of an accelerated growth in agriculture. There is a legitimate awakening among the rural people to raise their own standards of living by sharing the fruits of development.<sup>14</sup>

The Government helps agriculture with respect to the problems of the farmers, production, marketing, education etc. The Government recognises that there are two categories of farmers. The small farmers who own less than 10 standard acres of land do not have all the financial facilities and in most cases their lands are less productive. These small farmers also suffer from heavy loans and debts which arise due to the joint family system. An Agriculturist's Welfare Committee has been ordered at the state level under the Chairmanship of the Minister for Agriculture. The debts of these small farmers, to the tune of Rs. 72 crores have been written off by the Government. Also agricultural income has been exempted upto 20 standard acres. The cultivating tenants are enabled to share the produce in the ratio of 75:25. Electricity is supplied at concessional rates to farmers. Fertilisers, pesticides, long and short term credits, are extended to the farmers through co-operative societies. A separate department for horticulture and plantation agriculture also functions. The Government assists in seed certification, soil testing, agricultural marketing, sugarcane, road development scheme, agricultural refinance etc. The government is implementing the Integrated Rural Development Programme and Drought-prone Area Programme, for rural upliftment. Through the Tamilnadu Agricultural University, Tamilnadu State Farms Corporation Limited, Tamilnadu Sugar Corporation Limited, Tamil Nadu Agro-Engineering Service and Co-operative Federation Limited, Tamilnadu Agro-Industries Corporation Limited. the agriculture of Tamilnadu is helped.

The Dairy development department was started in

1951, to cater to the need of the dairy farmers. The department helps with quality cattle, marketing of milk powder plants etc. Medical Aid, fodder and other facilities needed are also supplied to the dairy farmers at concessional rates. Further the Tamilnadu Co-operative Milk Producers' Federation was organised in 1981 to help the rural poor to obtain milk of good quality at cheaper costs.<sup>15</sup>

Tamilnadu has achieved the distinction of standing first in fish production in our country by producing 3.85 lakh tonnes of fish during the year 1985-86. There are over 3.4 lakh fishermen in Tamilnadu. Also there are 1.3 lakh inland fishermen. The Department of Fisheries and the Tamilnadu Fisheries Development Corporation are evincing keen interest in formulating and implementing several welfare measures for the uplift of the fishermen community.<sup>16</sup>

In Tamilnadu 17.22% of the geographical area is covered by natural forests. However, in order to meet increase in demand for firewood and small timbers and for augmenting the scarce forest resources of the state, a pilot Farm Forestry scheme was launched in 1971. But now it is realized that unless the ongoing programmes of Social Forestry are intensified, there will be utter chaos in energy resources. In 1986 the demand for fuelwood in Tamilnadu was estimated at 14.2 million tonnes. Therefore, the Forest Department proposes to develop fuelwood plantations in private lands and village community lands. The total expenditure for this department in 1986-87 will be 30.28 crores.<sup>17</sup>

The Animal Husbandry department under the Government of Tamilnadu plays an important role in improving the lot of the people in the rural areas in order to increase the remunerative sources of subsidiary income to small farmers by the development of livestock. The efforts for the livestock development are directed towards the qualitative improvement in the production of cattle, sheep, pig and poultry to achieve maximum production by the implementation of the Intensive Cattle Development Project, Poultry

Development and Piggery Development project. During 1985-86 the estimate of the department reached to 27.23 crores.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. *Secondary Sector*

Tamilnadu continues to maintain high position among the industrialised states in the country. The twin objectives of Industrial Development as contemplated by the Government of Tamilnadu are a massive increase in employment opportunities and the removal of regional imbalances.<sup>19</sup> The Government has been maximising its efforts to achieve its objectives by strengthening the small-scale and cottage industries while at the same time supporting the harmonious development of large and medium industries in core sectors unfettered by any ideological or dogmatic considerations. The major responsibility of the State Government in the promotion and development of major and medium industries has been the development of the necessary infrastructure and provision of funds and other assistance required for the orderly growth of the private sector. To achieve these objectives a number of corporations have been set up. The Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation, the State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamilnadu, The Tamilnadu Industrial Investment Corporation Limited, The Tamilnadu Sugar Corporation, The Electronic Corporation of Tamilnadu, The Tamilnadu Cements Corporation and the Tamilnadu Newsprint and papers Limited etc. function for the industrial development of major sectors.

Primarily, the twin objectives of the industrial policy followed by the State in the field of small scale and rural industries are the promotion of industrial growth in the rural areas and creation of employment opportunities in the rural sector. For this a thrust has been given to promote and develop small scale and cottage industries, including tiny and household sector.

Sericulture has considerable scope for providing employment in the rural sector as it is a highly intensive rural industry with comparatively low capital investment. The Silk Development Corporation also works in this direction.<sup>20</sup>

The Tamilnadu Handicrafts Industries are the symbol of tradition and culture of the Tamils. With a view to preserve and develop these basic techniques and designs, the Tamil Nadu Handicraft Development Corporation was set up. Under this, the metal processing industry, wood carving, and the manufacture of plates and brass lamps etc. are carried out.

The Government has realised that Khadi and Village Industries sector could generate large scale employment opportunity at the village level. 1,28,809 persons have been employed during the last 4 years because of the drive on the Khadicrafts which concentrates on Rural Textiles, Silk Textiles, Palmgur, Village Oil, Soaps, Leather, Sandlewood and other luxurious articles. The 1985-86 budget of Tamil Nadu allotted 38.6% of its total outlay to Industrial activity.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. *Tertiary Sector*

The State's tertiary sector policy was to help the industrial and agricultural production to achieve self-sufficiency in both. While industrial activity was geared towards the removal of regional imbalances and unemployment, the agricultural sector wants to provide the necessary base for industrial activity. The strategy adopted by the government for accelerating industrial and agricultural production was to provide human and material resources. Human resources were provided in the form of managerial assistance technical know-how, etc. Education and Health were the basic tools for providing human resources. Power, transport, irrigation and finance were the tools for providing material resources.



*Human Resources in Education*

Education is one of the basic human rights. It is the means of individual development and social progress. Therefore the government of Tamilnadu is paying its attention to the development of Education. In 1977-78 the government spent Rs. 160 crores on Education. For 1985-86 the expenditure on education was Rs. 534 crores.

The Department of Education had registered all round development under the initiative and able guidance of C. Aranganayagam, Minister for Education, who himself happens to be a teacher from Coimbatore. He has paid equal attention to the progress of School, Collegiate and University Education. Again he has been instrumental in solving several of the problems of teachers as well as the curricula.

The adoption of 10+2+3 pattern of education in the state, the adoption of Physical Education as compulsory examination subject, the restructuration of several types of schools in the state under the guidance of School Education Department, the redesigning of +2 studies into job-oriented vocational courses, setting up of the Bharatiyar University at Coimbatore, the Bharathidasan University at Tiruchi, the Tamil University at Tanjore, and the Anna University of Technology at Madras, the Women's University at Kodaikanal and the Dr. Alagappa University at Karaikudi, increasing the emphasis on Tamil Medium Courses, granting of autonomous status to several colleges, increasing emphasis on correspondence education, and more attention to non-formal and adult education—these are some of the structural improvements achieved in the field of Education under the AIADMK administration.

The Education Department spends nearly 80% of its estimates on school education, the Nutritious Noon Meal scheme, free supply of books and slates, and other facilities which have reduced the big margin of dropouts. ie., 42.29% in 1975-76 in I-V standards to 27.62% in 1985-86.

The teachers strength in the Schools has gone from 2,46,115 in 1975 to 2,86,992 in 1985-86. Several service conditions which inhibit the work of the teachers have been removed. The merger of A and B wing teachers, the granting of Fourth Pay Commission scales, bringing the teachers of Panchayat Union Schools under direct government control, and increased facilities of government loans are some of the measures the government had implemented for the welfare of school teachers.

The government has introduced script reforms in the Tamil Language and has been brought into force in all administrative departments, courts and educational institutions.

The introduction of the University Grants Commission scales of pay, service security consequent on the shedding of the Pre-University Course, direct payment to the staff of private colleges, time bound promotions, encouragement to research activities are some of the benefits extended to college teachers in Tamil Nadu. Likewise several structural changes have been carried out in the technical and agricultural education.

### *Human Resources in Health*

The government is cognisant of the fact that health is the birthright of every citizen and therefore has adopted various measures to help the citizens achieve this end.

Prevention of communicable and other diseases, providing medical care to rural areas, improving the standards of environmental sanitation, prevention of environmental pollution, provision of food articles and drugs, providing care to women during pregnancy, child birth and lactation, collection and compilation of health statistics and education of the people in ways and means of healthy living are the major items of services rendered by the health department.

In this, the AIADMK government has given special attention to rural areas by projecting the multi-purpose

Health Workers Scheme, Integrated Child Development Scheme, Special Nutritious Programme, Tribal Development Scheme, Periphery Hospitals Scheme etc.

The Health Department promotes medical education through the 8 colleges in the State. Every year 1,015 students are trained in the undergraduate courses and 400 in the post-graduate courses.<sup>22</sup> Through its 14 District Head Quarters Hospitals, 108 Taluk Hospitals and several other Primary Health Centres, Family Planning Programmes and other health programmes are vigorously implemented in this State.<sup>23</sup>

### *Material Resources Development*

#### *Power*

One of the most serious economic problems in recent years is the shortage of electrical energy. There is a close correlation between economic growth and energy consumption — the higher the per capita income of the country, the larger is its per capita energy use. In Tamil Nadu the consumption of electrical energy increased from 5,057 m.u. in 1970-71 to the level of 10,062 m.u. in 1985-86.<sup>24</sup>

Tamil Nadu has not been endowed with vast natural resources for power generation. The state has no fossil fuel either except the lignite deposits in Neyveli. For the thermal stations, coal has to be imported from other states or countries. As regards nuclear energy the slow progress in Kalpakkam brings out clearly the problems and difficulties arising out of the faith reposed in foreign countries. Also Hydro stations in the state cannot be used to their maximum capacity since they are seriously handicapped by irrigation demands and the vagaries of the monsoon.

The annual outlay on power for 1985-86 was Rs. 617.82 crores. It is significant to note that the AIADMK had paid special attention to the power sector. It was Rs. 45 crores per year prior to 1975-76.

The state government pays equal attention in the distribution of electricity to industrial enterprises and to the common man. The thrust in the recent Rural Electrification scheme of the government is to provide electricity to the hut dwellers in return for a fixed amount of Rs. 2.50 per unit. This scheme was started in 1979 and it has reached 4.6 lakhs of huts in 1986. Further all the Harijan Colonies in the state (64,012) stood electrified in 1983. In 1985-86 nearly 10.74 lakh pumpsets were run on electricity. Also agriculturists are given power at an extremely subsidised rate. Thus the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board functions with the earnest motive of consumer satisfaction.<sup>25</sup>

### *Transport*

3.24 crores of people in Tamil Nadu live in Villages. There are 434 cities and towns in Tamil Nadu, while there are more than 12,239 village Panchayats. The people residing in these villages are compelled to go to the nearest town almost daily for education, business, hospital treatment, and to eke out their livelihood. Therefore Road Transport is the essential service needed for the welfare of the people and for economic progress of Tamil Nadu.

In 1986, there are 15,020 buses in the state. Out of these 7,829 buses are managed by 12 Transport Corporations. They operate nearly 23 lakhs k.m. a day carrying about 66 lakhs passengers daily.

Tamil Nadu State Transport Corporations have accelerated the scheme of introduction of bus facilities to rural areas. They have purchased nearly 6,000 new buses at a cost of Rs. 16.3 crores. These buses were mostly introduced on 2,243 new routes to serve 4,410 hitherto unserved villages. Transport facilities in Tamil Nadu are excellent.<sup>26</sup>

### *Other Economic Services*

The government of Tamil Nadu provides irrigation to

the farmers under Major Irrigation, Medium Irrigation and Minor Irrigation Schemes. The financial outlay on major and medium irrigation for 1985-86 was Rs. 48.12 crores. An amount of Rs. 4.62 crores was spent for minor irrigation during 1985-86.<sup>27</sup> The government's major focus of attention in drought relief was provision of drinking water, energisation of wells, execution of employment oriented works to provide relief to unemployed agricultural labourers, etc. In 1986 the government spent Rs. 153.69 crores for drought relief.<sup>28</sup> Also the department of co-operation plays a major role in the lives of the people by giving agricultural loans, jewel loans, marketing facilities, Godowns, Cement and other essential commodities and Housing loans etc.<sup>29</sup>

Further Revenue Administration also had been used as a major instrument to promote socio-economic changes in Tamil Nadu. To modernise the revenue administration, the Government abolished the Board of Revenue with effect from December 1, 1980.<sup>30</sup> In this respect the Government also abolished the colonial system of the part-time Village Officers (23,010) in 1981.<sup>31</sup>

### *Section III: Conclusion*

While translating its ideological commitments into administrative policies, the AIADMK had been careful to balance the policies aiming at the welfare of the socially downtrodden and the policies which concern the welfare of the general public. It maintained a reasonable poise between the social claims and the economic endeavours. It also tried to resolve the conflict between equality and social justice on the one hand, and liberty and free enterprise on the other.<sup>32</sup>

The AIADMK's policies towards the non-Brahmin Backward communities, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, women and children stemmed out of its ideological convictions pertaining to the society and was clearly redis-

tributive in nature. Its policies towards Agriculture and allied agro-industries, industries and other economic services had its roots in its general concern for socio-economic development. Its nature was distributive. The party's policies regarding revenue administration, police etc. tried to provide general welfare for all and hence they were regulatory in character.

The AIADMK handled the instrument of bureaucracy for socio-economic changes amidst the Tamils. It had benefited those social characters which supported the party. Yet it did not lose sight of general interests of development. Hence the AIADMK has become a politically successful centrist party. In that respect it has been true to the social ideal of Anna.

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## CONCLUSION

To play an active intervening role between society and the polity, a regional party must understand the historical processes, the existing political structures, the economy, the social divisions, the group needs and the cultural ethos of a community. Above all, it must have a notion of justice, not in an abstract and static meaning of the term, but as a concrete and dynamic necessity to be understood in terms of the changing social relations of men. A regional party's search for justice is the search for that social order where conflicts of interests shall be replaced by harmonious human relations.

Viewed in this perspective, the search for a just social order requires the identification of the conflicting social forces and an enquiry into how the conflict of interests can be solved. In other words, efforts that have been made to educate its conflicting forces and to bring about a balance of interests among them, so that no genuine interest gets annihilated in the society are to be examined. To play the role of bringing about a balance among the conflicting forces of the society, a regional party must seek Independence through ideological dispositions; Identification through organization, leadership and programmes; and, Legitimacy through elections.

As a historical study of a regional party in its ecological setting, i.e., of the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, this book in contemporary socio-political history of Tamil Nadu has sought to examine three issues; the historical background, political dynamics and the contributions of the AIADMK to



the social system at large. To support the arguments the book has drawn data from primary and secondary sources.

Historically speaking, there were, in the late forties, four important national traditions (viz. Congressmen, Communists, Socialists and Conservatives). On the national scene Nehru, the charisma behind the Congress, introduced socialism without violence and without dictatorship. His empirical gradualism in economic growth outshone the Communists and the Socialists to the point of making them almost extinct. And the Conservatives could not halt the smooth functioning of the parliamentary engine. The result was that the Congress' instrumentalist design for national integration became immensely successful and wiped out the other traditions from the national scene. In Tamil Nadu, Nehru found a perfect foil in Kamaraj who was willing to foster instrumentalist identity and modernization. However, the Congress' neglect of the cultural specificities of Tamil Nadu and their utter disregard for mass politics did not allow them to move beyond a point.

On the contrary, C. N. Annadurai, of the Dravidian tradition, carefully blended among the Tamils the primordial concern for the non-Brahmin Backward communities and the Tamil language. Further he spelt out a policy of non-Congressism and built a movement which could draw support from all the conservatives and the centrists. The DMK's anti-religious posture and practical schemes of leftist implication attracted the people in large numbers to the party. Besides, the DMK had a technique of its own political communication in oratory and cinema which brought not only mass sympathy but also financial strength. The shedding of the demand for Dravidasthan invested the DMK with political respectability and the anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 provided the immediate spark. The DMK was destined to win power in 1967 in Tamil Nadu. And the primordialists won the day over the instrumentalists.

The main differences between the Congress and the DMK were: 1. The Congress absorbed all other traditions

which existed at the national level. The DMK devoured not only the national traditions except the Congress, but also the other important regional traditions which worked for the cause of the Tamil language. 2. The Congress had absorbed, in general, not merely the ideologies but also personalities from other traditions. Hence immediate factional problems appeared inside the Congress. But the DMK had devoured only the ideologies of the other traditions (and very few weak personalities). Therefore serious factionalism did not appear within the DMK for quite long. 3. The Congress was concerned with only organizational problems of its growth. But the DMK gave equal attention to organizational and communication problems of the party.

Since the inflow of most of these ideologies and a few personalities in the DMK were in the nature of strengthening the organization, the DMK never hesitated to welcome them. However when the influence of the film world began to dominate, factions appeared in the DMK also. In the quarrels between the organizational and extra-organizational personalities, it was seen that the former always submitted themselves to the latter. The quitting of the party by Sampath to form a new party of his own, and Karunanidhi's success over Nedunchezian in achieving the office of the Chief Minister were specific instances of this truth.

The very same problem of the clashes between the organization and the extra-organization (cinematic) personalities returned to the DMK after a decade. MGR, whose early life was steeped in poverty, learnt from his experiences in the worlds of drama, cinema and politics that man should not live his life on the biological level merely to satisfy the animal appetites and desires but he must transcend those natural processes to live on a distinctly human level. From his mother he imbibed two characteristic attitudes in his life, viz. to foster the tendencies of human and to resist the tendencies that degrade a human being.

To foster the tendencies of being human, MGR cultivated several good habits from his younger days. He has been

handsome, simple, soft-spoken, gentle, patient, courteous, truthful and friendly. When his association with the DMK since 1953 brought him riches he became generous and philanthropic. On the other hand, to resist the tendencies that degrade a human being, he had always worked in his social and political capacities.

In the world of cinema, MGR's films were born out of his own experience. Naturally there was identification of the actor with his roles and the roles with actor. When more and more of such films began to appear MGR became the protector of the common man. And the commonfolk began to love him, discuss him, adore him and worship him in a serious vein. The fans began to organize 'Rasigar Manrams' throughout Tamil Nadu. These manrams, in course of time, gave publicity to MGR's films, and also undertook political activities of the DMK. Thus the actor, the fan clubs, the masses, the cinema and the DMK had become one ideological and one organizational whole. His position in the DMK was unchallengeable. Incidentally he had pre-empted the designs of Shivaji Ganesan (another actor of the Tamil screen) and the Congress to use the medium of cinema to obtain political power. Again, MGR's political success in Tamil Nadu had induced the actors of the neighbouring states to try their hands in politics. For instance, N.T. Rama Rao has obtained power in Andhra Pradesh.

When the factional problem arose in 1972, between M. Karunanidhi as the prisoner of the factional politics inside the DMK, and M.G. Ramachandran as the monument of strength, derived from the film world and king-making in the succession struggle of 1969, the latter rocked the organization to its very core. The swift move of Karunanidhi to dismiss MGR even from the primary membership of the organization which was designed to preempt the problem, backfired and MGR quickly proceeded to found the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam on 18.10.1972. Though the reasons for the quarrels between the two were

several, the AIADMK had proved the existence of factionalism within the DMK and the irrepressible strength and influence of MGR and the film world inside the DMK. Thus factionalism in general proved to be the major reason for the birth of regional parties and it is specifically so in the case of the AIADMK.

The dynamics of a regional party involves the selection of a political ideology, building up of an organization and also providing strong leadership to it for the achievement of its ideological goals. The AIADMK did not delay in completing this process.

The AIADMK accepted 'Annaism' as its basic ideology. Annadurai's contemplation on the socio-political dimensions of the Tamil society made him first to adapt EVR's views. Then he assimilated a few more, introspected and purged the unnecessary view points and finally emerged mature. His solutions to the problems of Tamil society contain a synthesis of the principles of Tamil Nationalism, Self-respect and social reforms, the parliamentary path, mass participation, rationalism, democracy, joint sector socialism and mass communication. MGR accepted these basic tenets of Annaism *in toto*. However he added a few more convictions of his own like casteless society, class influence, special treatment to women, clean administration and prohibition to bring Annaism uptodate and to make it a purposeful philosophy in the spheres of society, party and the government. After formulating this ideology of 'Annaism', MGR began to bestow attention on the propagation of his party's message.

Subsequent to the formulation and propagation of Annaism the AIADMK was determined to construct an efficient organization. In mass democracies and among the centrist parliamentary parties, it has not been possible to avoid the dominance of the legislative wing over the organizational wing of the party. Further in-camera groups develop within the legislative wing in such a manner that they become informal power centres. In the AIADMK also the

legislative wing has dominated over the organizational wing. However, it is MGR's charisma which is the moving spirit behind the legislative party and the organization.

The party system in all democracies is a projection of the social system. Where society is divided into several assertive groups, irrespective of the prevailing ballot system, parties are bound to multiply, and unless effective means are evolved to reconcile group differences, political stability cannot be realised. Realising this important fact of the political life of Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK pledged first to uphold the basic theme of the Indian Constitution and styled itself to function as a centrist party in order to balance and educate conflicting social interests. Next the party went about contesting the elections through adept electioneering and skillful alliances. Also MGR's charisma took him to unprecedented heights and he won the Assembly Elections in 1977, 1980 and 1984, thus entrenching himself solidly in power.

Parties, which stand by competitive electoral process for seeking power, are not only an integral part of the democratic structure but are active agents for the preservation and promotion of democratic values to make democracy a comprehensive way of life. For achieving this the AIADMK has been using its power for a meaningful social change. Employing the administration for fulfilling the regulatory needs, distributive requirements and redistributive justices, the AIADMK proceeded to establish socio-cultural betterments of the groups that supported the party and at the same time not losing sight of the general and developmental tasks of modernization. Change is achieved without violence and by balancing the conflicting social interests.

## II

Both the national and the regional parties of India were, in a sense, responses to the imperialist and centralising

tendencies of British India. While the all-India nationalism crystallised in an integrated manner in the form of the Indian National Congress, Regional, Linguistic, and Religious specificities of India were also inspired to seek their new destinies. Thus the former became the 'great tradition' and the latter existed as 'little traditions'.

The Congress adopted the modernization approach to Indian nationalism. It conceived Indian nationalism as a search for new common symbols in which various groups of the society could find some sense of personal and collective identity. It aimed at the reconstitution of the core values of society. It defined nationalism as an attempt to institutionalise new methods of fulfilling the functions which older societies were unable to perform under conditions of change. To achieve its aims the Congress had taken to the agitational approach against the Raj. On the other hand the little traditions rejected the idea of nationalism, as a group possessing common symbols. They considered that nationalism was a product of a new type of education permeating into the society for the mobilization of socio-political strength. However the little traditions employed a co-operative strategy with the British to achieve their ambitions. Thus, the conflict between the great and little traditions were unavoidable and hence the latter were branded as 'separatists'.

As such political identity always refers to the subjective basis of individual attachment to a political community. Political identity in a nation-state begs the idea that loyalty and commitment of the individual should only be extended to the territorially defined nation-state. Any deviance from this fundamental rule is taken to be an effort for slipping away from the national order. Nationalism does not tolerate any differences between the subjective identity of the individual and the external, objective political reality. In fact it wants a fusion between the two.

Therefore, typically the stress on developing attachments to a territorially defined nation-state is accompanied

by attempts to undermine or destroy tribal, ethnic, religious and linguistic identities. This is because such ethnic, tribal and linguistic loyalties were conceived to be detracting, weakening, diluting or blurring territorial nationalism. Consequently, national integration means not merely developing the nationalist mind but also destruction of all other primordial loyalties.

The Indian National Congress had totally accepted this dichotomous view of political identity. It wanted to function in an instrumentalist manner rejecting the primordialists and appreciating only civil sympathies.

The inability of Indian nationalism in the 1940's to bargain effectively and arrive at an accommodation with the demand for Pakistan was due to the presence of the British power in India and the reluctance of the British to hand over effective power in India to the part representing Indian nationalism. Drawing an important lesson from this experience, the great tradition began to absorb all the little traditions. In that process nationalism benefitted immensely from the process of institution-building that was going on under the British Rule. The civil services, the defence services, the educational institutions, and the urban professional classes helped the great tradition in no small measure in this assimilation process.

Realising the fact that no more 'separatism' is possible within Independent India and conceding that the Indian National Congress had swiftly moved to consolidate its position through the process of the integration of Indian states, the primordialist little traditions moved on to refix their ideologies in the form of regionalism. Regionalism, as a country-wide phenomenon, took the form of a well-conceived and well-planned agitations and campaigns in four forms: demand for secession from the Indian Union, demand for separate statehood, demand for full statehood and inter-state disputes.

Indian nationalism, which under British Rule, was unable to come to an accommodation with Muslim separatism

has been largely successful in arriving at an accommodation with these little traditions operating in the form of regional parties. The reorganization of India on the basis of linguistic states in 1956 and the adoption of the Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Bill in early October 1963 sapped all its verve and the nerve of these parties and they quietly settled for a constitutional discourse with the 'great tradition'. Thus the era of the regional parties functioning as the sprinwells of regionalist sentiments also ended.

In Tamil Nadu, the DMK, which was founded in 1949, was seen actively working for secession from the Indian Union (which was the first and important variety of regionalism). The party was a faction of the DK which was pleading for a Dravida Nadu in the pre-Independence period. Also the party was inducing several other parties of the Tamil Community to reinforce the same policy. For instance, on June 5, 1960 the DMK and the 'We Tamils' organized a joint campaign throughout Madras state for the secession of Madras and for making it an independent sovereign state of Tamil Nadu. They burnt the map of India minus Tamil Nadu. On January 30, 1961, it launched with the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam an agitation for the renaming of Madras as Tamil Nadu. However, subsequent to the Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Bill of 1963, the DMK dropped its demand for a sovereign independent Dravidian federation and promised to work within the framework of the sovereignty and integrity of the Indian Constitution.

This shift of the DMK from separatism to a redefinition of Indian federalism was not a sudden post-1963 phenomenon. While advocating separation, Annadurai had previously argued for more state power and greater regional co-operation among the four southern states. He placed increased emphasis on decentralization and state autonomy. Hence the transition was smooth and was accepted by the people. By appointing the Rajamannar Committee, Karunandhi enhanced the legitimacy of the demands for autonomy and decentralization. However the major draw-



back of the DMK was that it placed exceptional faith on agitational path for achieving state autonomy.

Having thus been reduced to helplessness, these primordial little traditions, which had rejected the theory that the individual is the relevant political and legal unit, now uphold that community is the basis of social action. That is they had rejected the direct relationship between the individual and territorial nationalism. Further they did not like role of land in man-state relations. For them concentrated group settlement on contiguous land is not a necessary or sufficient condition of nationalism.

But under the prevailing conditions of socio-political changes in India the regional parties were forced to perform the role of proving that territorial nationalism and cultural nationalism were not dichotomous. One is not traditional and the other modern; and one is not irrational and the other is perfectly rational. They were to clarify that cultural nationalism was not atavistic and primordial and an inherent threat to the integrity of the nation. They were to prove that both were forms of nationalism stressing different themes emerging out of different socio-political and economic contexts. Simply stated, they were to establish that regional parties were sub-national and no longer regional minded. The first step for such behaviour would be an essential co-operation with the centre.

The AIADMK was born in 1972 in the little tradition and at the hour of crisis of proving that regional parties and regionalism were two different entities and there was no essential correlation between the two. Therefore the AIADMK was required to develop harmonious relations with national parties that could obtain federal power. Operationally the AIADMK must: (1) Strive to set right the regional economic imbalances; (2) See that the federal government does not unnecessarily interfere in the smooth working of the federal process; (3) Check the undue centripetal tendencies at the cost of the interests of the nation; and (4) decisively conclude whether the co-operative or

conflictual course of action, or a successful combination of them would be beneficial to the interests of the state.

Everywhere in the federal world, federalising processes exhibit centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. The AIADMK observes that there need not be any conflict between the two processes and pleads for decentralization. Since federalism in India has been handed down by the British as an institutional mechanism and as an administrative convenience, the AIADMK feels that there is much of centralization in the constitutional and extra-constitutional processes leading to regional imbalances in India. At the same time the party understands that the political relations are the denominator for harmonious centre-state relations. Therefore the party has shunned conflictual tactics and has willingly accepted the co-operative strategy as the basis for all federal relations.

Co-operation may lead to proper understanding and better bargaining, which in turn may result in the initiative of the centre to sort out the problems of Tamil Nadu and to solve them in the future. This strategy of the AIADMK proved to be successful with the Janata government. A second reason for their cordial relations was that the Janata itself was a consummation of several little traditions in India. Naturally there was no animosity between the two. But the Congress (I) finds that, though it belongs to the powerful great tradition, it cannot erase the little 'Dravidian Tamil tradition' and its recent manifestation, the AIADMK. Conceivably the AIADMK, following the DMK model has retaliated the great tradition by observing the rule of 'simple majority single ballot' system. Hence the strained relations between the two.

Still, the AIADMK believes in co-operation. It wants national accommodation rather than national integration. It is for this that it has permanently stationed a special representative at New Delhi to do liaison between the two levels of the government. And again it finds that inter-state relations are also equally important in federal relations and

therefore it wants to promote such relations by promoting newer techniques like the 'Southern Chief Ministers Conferences'. Thus the AIADMK has become the pioneer in the co-operative strategy in the relations between the great tradition and little traditions in India. It has also clearly shown that regional parties need not have a regional mind. Its subnationalistic fervour wants to set right the regional imbalances. It resists overstepping by both the centre and the states. Thus, the AIADMK hoped and keeps hoping for the new horizons in the federal relations in India.

### III

The most important issues concerning a regional party in India are: (1) Reconciling the Indian cultural tradition and social structure with the needs of a modern state; (2) Keeping up with mass expectations; and (3) Achieving a sense of proportion between the unity and diversity of India. Pragmatic solutions may issue forth for these problems if only the regional party has a strong base and efficient organization.

In the Eighties, as has been the case earlier, society, politics and the economy of Tamil Nadu hover around the uplift of Backward Communities, Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Women; a concern for the Tamil language; establishment of the democratic way of life; and the achievement of economic growth together with justice and equality. To achieve these the AIADMK functions firstly, as a mobilizing movement to enlighten the Tamil society about its social conflicts, social inequalities and the ways by which they can be eliminated. For this the ideology of Annaism helps the AIADMK. Secondly, as an organisational expression the AIADMK fosters and preserves the solidarity of exploited people in Tamil Nadu. For this MGR's charisma contributes greatly to the party. Thirdly, as an educational instrument, the party suggests the merits of reforms for orderly and peaceful social change. Power through electoral victories

and the consequent administrative actions help the AIADMK in this endeavour.

The Constitution of India founded upon the assumption of the infallibility of the Centre, makes available to it enormous powers to deal with an inconvenient state and does not provide any remedy for a state against the 'unconstitutional' acts of the centre. Further the dominance of the Congress, both at the centre and in the states has prevented the relationship between the two from developing as contemplated by the constitution and has subordinated it to party discipline.

But, the federal theory neither envisages patriarchal patronage on the part of the centre nor expects feudal fidelity to be observed by the states; and in enabling the states to maintain their cultural identity, to develop themselves as regional democracies and to contribute to the concession of Indian society and the integrity of the nation, they must be trusted with a wider and unencroachable autonomy. As in human life too much parental control can only retard the development of the offspring, so in politics too much centralization leads to regional imbalances. It is in this context that the AIADMK believes and works for co-operative and democratic federalism in the direction of the enhancing of the authority of the centre sustained by the autonomy of the states.

Thus, the AIADMK, which is born out of factionalism, has first set for itself the task in consonance with the regional and primordial specificities of Tamil Nadu, and proceeded to consolidate its organization through the charisma of MGR and the mass media, in order to win the power through skillful electioneering and masterly electoral alliances, so that it may be used for the balancing of the claims of the social inequalities and the general welfare, in the context of pleading and co-operation with the centre for state autonomy so that fuller democratic life in Tamil Nadu and India may realise. Therefore the AIADMK with Independence, Identification and Legitimacy, continues to be the represen-

tative manifestation of Tamil Nationalism answering the continuing social injustices in Tamil Nadu.

But the vital question of the future of the AIADMK remains to be answered. MGR's charisma, mass following and the social injustices of Tamil Nadu react to one another today in an inestimable way to produce creative energies for the welfare of one and all. As long as the social injustices and the specific cultural problems of the Tamils endure and as long as people trust MGR's leadership, the AIADMK will steer the state for its proper destination. Since the fame and mass following of MGR is unquestionable, people do not think of the succession now. But the succession problem will be difficult to speculate. A charisma rises from the people and finally dies with the people, leaving them to face chaos and disorder, only to see the return of another charisma.

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### *About the Book*

This is a concise book which charts major developments in the ideologies of regional parties today in India against the backdrop of the intentions of the national parties. Focussing on the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam of Tamil Nadu as a case study, the book dwells at length on the political dynamics of the regional parties — their processes of ideological construction or renewal, organizational strength, leadership and electoral participation — in order to explicitly bring out the unique role of regional parties in the socio-cultural heterogeneity of India. Explaining the positive role of Annaism, the book argues specifically that the functioning of the primordialist and instrumentalist forces in a federal polity need not be antithetical but can be creatively 'accommodative'.

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Dr. R. Thandavan has been teaching history, government and politics of Tamil Nadu for well over a decade and is currently Reader, Centre for Anna Studies, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras. He has published a number of papers in reputed journals. He is also the Editor of *The Indian Journal of Political Science*.